

JPRS 80104

16 February 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1975



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

16 February 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1975

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Need To Improve Television Broadcasts Stressed (Ylli Pepo; RRUGA E PARTISE, Sep 81).....	1
Fan Noli Centennial Commemorated (Editorial Report).....	9

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Speaks to Students on Existing Contradictions in Socialist Society (Todor Zhivkov; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 13 Jan 82).....	10
Trade Union Leader Speaks on New Economic Approach, Discipline, Management (Petur Dyulgerov; TRUD, 13 Jan 82).....	26

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

State, Church Approaches to Luther Legacy Contrasted (NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 17-18 Jan 82).....	44
--	----

POLAND

Violation of Government-Solidarity Agreements Discussed (Stanislaw Reperowics; TRYBUNA LUDU, 14 Dec 81).....	47
NZS Political Ambitions Attacked (Zenon Skuza; TRYBUNA LUDU, 16 Dec 81).....	51
Polish United Workers' Party History, Anniversary Noted (Norbert Michta; TRYBUNA LUDU, 15 Dec 81).....	57

Press Coverage of 'Gastarbeiter' Issue Noted (Various sources, various dates).....	61
'WALKA MŁODYCH' on Causes, Possible Solutions, by Zenon Kulej	
'SZTANDAR MŁODYCH' on Motivation, Consequences, by Krystyna Grzybowska	
PAP Report on Passport Policy	
Student Club Discussion	
Hostile Reaction in FRG, by Eugeniusz Guz	
Solidarity 'Struggle for Power' Viewed (Andrzej Leszczynski; TRYBUNA LUDU, 9 Dec 81).....	75
People's Martial Law Duties Outlined (TRYBUNA LUDU, 14 Dec 81).....	77
Military Activities Under Martial Law Outlined (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 18 Dec 81).....	79
Military Activities After First Week of Martial Law Discussed (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 19-20 Dec 81).....	84
Activities of Territorial Operational Groups Reported (Janusz Borkowski; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 18 Dec 81).....	90
ZBoWiD Activities, Changes Discussed (Włodzimierz Sokorski Interview; ZA WOLNOSCI LUD, 21 Nov 81).....	94
Military Men Appointed Voivodship Governors (TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, various dates).....	99
Katowice, Elblag, Koszalin, Radom	
Katowice Governor Meets Miners, by Jerzy Bieronski, Jozef Janik	
Katowice Governor Discusses Supplies	
Briefs	
School Reopenings	106

ROMANIA

Role of Working Class in Social Homogenization (Elisabeta Traistaru; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Nov 81).....	107
Unity of Socialist Awareness, Labor Discipline (Dumitru Necsoiu Interview; CONTEMPORANUL, 15 Jan 82).....	114
Decree on Levying, Collecting Local Fees, Taxes (BULETINUL OFICIAL, 31 Dec 81).....	118

Marxist Atheism, Socialist Awareness (Petru Berar; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Nov 81).....	133
Effective Measures To Combat Religious Sects Discussed (Valeria Cadareanu Interview; SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, 26 Dec 81).....	141
Efforts To 'Modernize' Religion Derided (SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, 26 Dec 81).....	143
Results of Study on Fertility of Female Population (Petru Muresan; VIITORUL SOCIAL, Sep-Oct 81).....	145
Decree on Evaluation of Damage to Public Property (BULETINUL OFICIAL, 21 Dec 81).....	154
YUGOSLAVIA	
Western Comment on Church-State Relations (NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 22 Jan 82).....	158
Djilas Book on Communism Published in FRG (Editorial Report).....	160
Briefs	
Kalanj-Suvar Polemics	161
Kosovo LC Membership	161
Hostile Action in Lipljan Opstina	162

NEED TO IMPROVE TELEVISION BROADCASTS STRESSED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Sep 81 pp 79-86

[Article by Ylli Pepo: "New Possibilities and Demands to Turn Television Into a Powerful Means of Communist Education"]

[Text] The Tenth Plenum of the party Central Committee which approved the draft-directives of the Eighth Party Congress for the Seventh 5-year plan, made it clear that in order to achieve the planned objectives, along with the further mobilization of all the internal resources and reserves which our economy possesses and will create, on the basis of the understanding and the fullest possible implementation of all the tasks which arise from the situations under which our country develops, there must be further improvement of the entire work of the party and its levers for the revolutionary education and molding of our new man, through the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Among the many means and forms which the party uses for the political, ideological, school, cultural, scientific, artistic and physical education of the workers, an ever more important role is being played by propaganda on television.

Our television, through its broadcasts and programs which have a sound ideological and artistic content, applies the party line and directives. Its educational power is growing more and more. The Marxist-Leninist ideology, the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, permeates every television broadcast. By means of the screen, there become present in our familiar surroundings, up to the remotest corners of the country, those great transformations which have been achieved in our socialist fatherland, our man, with new socialist characteristics, who works and struggles for the flourishing and further strengthening of Albania, the great beauties and the riches of Albanian nature, the riches of our people's culture and art, the distinguished personalities and great events of the past and of the present, the history and the culture of our nation with all its dimensions and depths, that which happens in our country, but also in the world which surrounds us.

Our television has now formed its own character. As a result of the instructions of the party and its constant concern and the constant concern of Comrade Enver Hoxha, Albanian television is progressing and improving its programs.

Its broadcasts have become a very essential nourishment for the life of the people. And this has happened as a result of the growth of its values for the communist education of the broad working masses. Its characteristics as a television with a profound socialist content and militant character, with a popular spirit and national character, are becoming ever more prominent.

Our television differs completely from any other television in the world, simply by the fact that the television programs of the capitalist, bourgeois-revisionist world are nothing but a faithful and expressive reflection of the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist order which is in decay, a reflection of its profound political, economic and spiritual crisis. The television programs of the bourgeois and revisionist countries are characterized by loss of character and corruption, murder and crime, fear and panic, which taken together try to suppress, squeeze and destroy spiritually the simple viewer, and in particular, to educate the youth in the spirit of oppression, of bourgeois and revisionist morality, in search of an aimless life. The bourgeois and revisionist television, as instruments in the hands of those who subvert them, try to separate the broad masses from the daily reality, from the class struggle and social revolutions. As such, they have been transformed into "pure opium," much more dangerous than any other opium, which aims at creating confusion in the minds of the people and to lull them. Through the great development which technology and electronics have assumed, the bourgeois television uses the most varied kinds of tricks and forms to mask the programs with a profoundly degenerate and corrupt content which fill its screens.

The objectives of our television are entirely different. By combining the functions of the radio and cinematography, press and art, information with the poetic word, educational story-telling for children with music, the day's events with the study of history, scientific lectures for post-graduate studies with reports from the large construction projects, it represents a daily visual newspaper, in the "pages" of which are reflected the party's Marxist-Leninist policy, the achievements of the socialist construction, the ever better life of our people, the great present-day and future problems.

Through these great and complex values, our television propaganda serves all the population stratas and categories. But through its special programs it also fulfills, ever better, the demands and interests of special stratas and categories, beginning with those of the children and up to those of the veterans, workers of the economy, culture and art. The constant improvement of the quality of these programs, constitutes one of the fundamental objectives of the collective of this institution.

First place in the programs of our television is occupied by the broadcasts of an informative nature, the main one being "the television review." Through the care of the party, our television information service is now able to present in a satisfactory manner and on time, the day's activities and events of interest. Through television reporters, our television viewer in all corners of our homeland, is acquainted with the opening of the tunnel for bypassing the Koman, and with the successes and progressive experience of the workers, the cooperativists, the people's intellectuals of our country. The television

journal introduces major reports whose themes are the great transformations in the cities and villages which show the dynamic developments of our socialist industry or the intensification and mechanization of agriculture.

The assessment of these achievements will, of course, create no euphoria, since the television collective is aware of the gaps which still exist in this very important field of television propaganda, gaps which are to be found in the direction of the better drafting of the texts of the television news and reports which are broadcast in the framework of information broadcasts, as well as in improving the quality of the picture and its ever better conformity with the text.

By evaluating the great expressive, educational and emotional power of the word in the television propaganda, it is becoming ever more clear that the improvement of the quality of the broadcasts cannot be understood without skilled journalistic work. A text full of slogans, general and dull phrases, written without inspiration, without a proper knowledge of the life and the problem about which the report or interview is being prepared, cannot contain great educational values, no matter how attractive the presentation in the film with which it is being illustrated. And it is a fact that despite the efforts made for the achievements in our reporting broadcasts, from time to time one encounters texts which are weak in regard to ideas, arguments, thoughts and ideopolitical conclusions. In order to overcome these shortcomings, various forms of training work with the journalists are being used. The nine-month on-the-job course, with those creators, especially editors, who are not properly trained in journalism will help in achieving this objective.

Of course, every form of skilled work has its own values, but the television creators like all the workers of our press face the task of learning and benefiting as much as possible from the writings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. When we study the writings and the works of Comrade Enver, from the period of the National Liberation War and up to the memoirs "When the Party Was Born," we realize how rich in information and facts these books are, the amount of information and daily life they contain, and on the basis of their conclusions of a philosophical nature are drawn, and ideas and scientific arguments concerning the events and impressions are made. Everything is expressed in a rich, pure and comprehensive language, marked by modesty and clarity, in accordance with the broad knowledge and culture of the party leader. In the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha are to be found lessons and recommendations which are studied and assimilated by the entire people. For the journalists and the other propaganda workers they are also an example of how the problems are treated and artistically implemented. In this direction, the television journalists have much to learn. We are talking here, among other things, about giving up the practice, although rare, where the editor pays little attention to the texts, or where he deals with the text once the film has been shot. In these cases, it is the text which is subservient to the film and to the presentation and not the other way around.

By maintaining that the text or the script is a basis for a good television program, it does not mean that the role of the presentation is being played down. For the character of television propaganda, the presentation assumes great values, especially then when the operator films on the basis of a script or of a sketch.

The text helps the cameraman to film that which is typical for our reality, the attractive, the pure, what is optimistic and inspiring.

It is a known fact that the presentation, by being an organic component of the programs, can raise or lower the value of the text. And the latter occurs in those cases when the shooting of the film has been done in a careless and sloppy manner, whereas the possibilities exist to prevent the showing of such films on our television, even in the case of short reports. The putting of these possibilities into practice depends on the level of the skill of the operator and the cameramen who do the filming, on the level of skill of the film mounters, on their careful work, and also on the demands of the editorial boards and the cadres who approve for broadcasting reports or more extensive programs.

Improvements have been made in our television broadcasts also in connection with the better harmony between the text and the presentation, as an important demand especially for television reports and reviews. Nevertheless, there is still room for further improvements. And it must be said that the synchronization of the text with the picture is done with a high sense of responsibility when it is evaluated not only simply as question of form, but, in the first place, as a content demand.

Our television creates its programs guided by the objective of presenting on the screen the vital life of the people. The thoughts, achievements and the pledges of the workers are presented to the television viewers through interviews with the cadres, specialists and ordinary people where they work and live. Through television, our workers talk with each other, exchange opinions, have their say about important problems of work and our varied life. This type of information increases in value when consideration is given not only to things which will be discussed, but also to the form of illustrating that which will be told. When this is not correctly conceived, the interview turns into a bland declaration, with some facts and figures which does not justify its presentation on television.

Through the many means of illustration, through the technology which the writer of information reports, as well as of other programs, much better and more attractive programs can be created for the masses, when the problems and the directives of the party about them will be executed attractively, clearly, comprehensively and scientifically. Therefore, our television workers face the task of better eliciting the opinions of the most skilled co-workers, of the most capable specialists, and further perfecting the visual in the function of the word. The correct combination of that which is said with that which is visually presented makes the word sound more convincing. On the other hand, the visual presentation of a concrete objective makes the word more concrete, more scientific and divests the sound track of generalities.

Our television has an opportunity to become a tribune of elevated and of mature scientific thought, and this is realized, among others, when the programs meet the demands of the ideological and political education and of the broadening of the cultural and scientific horizon of the working masses.

A large role is played in our television programs by the cultural, artistic and music shows. The formational and educational value of these shows grows parallel with the raising of their ideological and artistic level. Through these broadcasts, especially the programs "Events and Data," "From the Treasure of Our People's Art and Culture," "The Artistic Word on the Screen," "School Problems," and so forth, convey to the viewer feelings of love for the homeland and pride in the glorious past and the socialist beauty of today, feelings of socialist patriotism, the new esthetic and moral socialist tastes.

A number of these broadcasts have created their own character and have become popular for the viewer. Through them, the television viewer is acquainted with important events of our history, with its distinguished personalities who have worked and struggled for freedom, for the language, for national rights and for social progress. Moreover, recent events, especially those of the past four decades which are associated with the name and the work of the party, are occupying a larger place in these programs. Programs such as "During the Years of Socialist Construction," and others, which mirror the revolutionary transformations achieved during the years of the party, from those of the National Liberation War, of the post-war period and up to those of the socialist construction in our days have recently been devoted to these events.

The educational value of these broadcasts greatly depends on the realistic treatment of the events and their central personalities. The party has often recommended that we treat things realistically, without overstatement, without exaggerating events, their moving forces, the role of the masses and of special individuals. But it is fact that although care has been shown in this field, from time to time, there are also cases of subjectivism, overevaluation of the role of this or that person, of this or that event, and so forth. The attention which Comrade Enver Hoxha recently devoted to this in his book "When the Party Was Born," as well as the scientific evaluation which the book makes of the events, constitute a rich orientation and material for the creative forces of our television, not only in their work for the preparation of the future programs, but also in viewing with a critical eye those programs of the past which are kept as basic material for re-editing and re-runs. Along with their enrichment with facts, with documents and other valuable interviews, the need arises for the verification and accuracy of previous materials.

Artistic and music programs occupy 30-35 percent of the entire program schedule of our television. They provide education, relaxation, and entertainment for the masses. These programs are prepared by relying on the development of the various types of arts in our country, on the creativeness of our cultural and artistic institutions, of the theaters, cultural houses, of the amateur artistic groups and of music schools, on the production of the "New Albania" film studio and on the sector for artistic television films.

In this manner, television is becoming ever more a mirror of the best artistic production of the whole of Albania. There are many good programs which are created on the basis of this material. But, often, programs are produced which are poorly directed and televised. In the program "The People's Origin," for example, the music material is excellent, but the same thing cannot be said

about the television presentation. Practice shows that these broadcasts become more interesting when they are unified and harmonized into one single basic plot, and not as happens often by simply arranging songs, dances and sketches without a related literary text.

The people's national character of our literary-artistic creativity is not expressed in creativity alone, but also in its execution and interpretation. Possibilities have been created for this party recommendation to be better applied also in the production of televised artistic programs. A larger role can be played by the songs and the dances executed in our wonderful natural setting, in the new reality of socialist Albania, not locking ourselves within the four walls of the studio. A similar demand arises also for the television drama. Theaterlike broadcasts do not suit television. Efforts have been made to produce some television dramas under real conditions, namely in the place of origin, but still, many dramatic plays are produced with a theater decor.

Television can and must try to affect, even more, the raising of the ideological and artistic level of these programs. As a central institution which fulfills the demands of the entire people, it must not accept the production and broadcasting of weak programs, with a poor ideological and artistic level, as has happened at times when programs, especially variety shows with a low level have been accepted and have been broadcast.

The basic party organizations and their levers in television must continue working with the workers in order to put a stop to any poor creations. The party has charged television with the task of cultivating and encouraging all that is good, pretty, tasteful and of high ideological and artistic level. The excuses which are heard from time to time that this or that program has been shown here or there that it has been liked by this or that person or forum, cannot constitute the true criterion of its value. Without underevaluating the opinions and the evaluations of the others, the television workers, as party workers, value the creative work which is recommended to them for filming, always by taking into consideration how the program fulfills the demands of the television viewers, the objectives and directives of the party.

There have been good results in recent years in the field of televised artistic movies. But movies of poor value have also been prepared and broadcast. Many factors play a role in the production of television movies. In our country we are still not too familiar with the specifics of this type of film making, and the equipment placed in our hands is not used for high productivity film-making. It is time to make a number of improvements in this field too. Our television viewer is hungry for Albanian movies and we owe him something in this direction. A good basis in this field is, along with the filming of original plays, the filming of better works of our literature, and, in particular, that of socialist realism. The opinion which exist among some creators that television is in a position to improve the situation of some poor literary works must be taken with reservations and in a critical manner. It is true that human and material capacities have been increased to carry out a worthwhile creative work in the studios, but the use of special effects, of music and of some other element cannot and must not conceal the ideological and artistic weaknesses of the work. Comrade

Enver Hoxha teaches us that through a simple presentation the ideas are expressed more clearly and smoothly, like a clear river which flows from the mountain. A confused, exaggerated and complicated presentation often conceals obscure ideas. This lesson of Comrade Enver Hoxha is helping the television workers to use simplicity and clarity as a basis for their broadcasts, as well as our entire art and literature and to avoid foreign models, imitations and tricks.

The programs for children and young people are the most important ones for our television. Precisely because of the nature of the strata to which they are directed, all the categories of the broadcasts are organically combined, from the economic-scientific and historic-geographic ones and up to the cultural and artistic ones. The ever better living conditions in socialism, the extraordinary great care which the party shows for the young generation, are enabling the growth of children who are intellectually developed and anxious to learn. The conclusion arises by itself that the programs which are prepared for them require much work, in order to avoid traces of naivete and the presentation of the problems in a heavy-handed and boring manner. In order to eliminate these shortcomings, the shows for children and youth are examined and redone from time to time. Programs have been introduced in recent broadcasts like "The Little Postman," "Through Our Beloved Homeland," "Through the Pages of the History of Our People," "Let us Speak and Write Attractively," and so forth, which are becoming popular with the children.

By taking into consideration the care which the party devotes to the education of the children, the creative work of the journalists in this category of television has aimed at further broadening the themes, to introduce the active life of the children on the television screen, to treat more broadly their social problems, the educational questions in the school, streets and family, by trying to mold the builders and the future defenders of socialism with the ideas and recommendations of the party, with materialist concepts. Television does not substitute for the school through its programs, but it is a powerful means through which the children become familiar with the pulse of our socialist work and life, with its joys, plays and so forth. This theme demands livelier forms, more worthwhile television productions, in which, according to the age group, film-making in natural surroundings, televised fairy tales, puppet and cartoon shows should occupy a greater place.

By seeking communication forms which are as simple and as attractive as possible for the children, the editors of most of the programs have succeeded in presenting the story. Yet, they do not always have the desired results because often the proper editorial work is lacking. In general, children's programs should be filmed more often outside the studio, because the fairy-tale which is popular with the children, fails to attract the attention of the children when it is not accompanied by pictures and moving figures. It is, therefore, necessary that those programs which must be filmed in the studio be full of fantasy, attractive and as colorful as possible.

Our television can and must improve the general presentation of the program. The presentation of the speaker, his cultured way of speaking and the pauses must be such as to arouse feelings of socialist beauty, of optimism, of Albanianism. But at times, the opening and closing of programs are dry, superficial and dull.

The presentation of television programs in our country must be conceived within a broad framework. The level and quality of the presentation depends a lot on the skilled creative work, in the first place, of the editors and of directors, of the technicians and of engineers during the drafting of the text and of its filming, during the recording, cutting and broadcasting of the programs. Consequently, the presentation must be conceived as a component and expression of the content, and as such must always be evaluated with all seriousness. The insufficient effort of some editors and directors for the dignified presentation of the programs is also responsible for the low level of some of these programs. The sports show, for example, should be fresher and should be presented in a more lively and cultured manner, so that it can attract even more the youth and the broad masses of sports fans. The same is required in the case of a number of musical programs, such as "Music for All," "The Song of Our New Life," or the reports "Events and Data," "Youth Program," and so forth.

Our television does not have nor can it have important "second" hand programs. Everything that is broadcast through the channels of Albanian Television, serves the same aim and as such, must be prepared and realized by the creators and our technicians with the same passion and the same responsibility. And it is a fact that when every program is considered a premiere, then routine, mechanical and heavyhanded work is also avoided. In these cases, the programs differ from each other even within the same topic because they have their specialty, the new element, the element which makes it attractive and interesting for the viewer. And our television is capable of realizing this in all its shows.

The day is not too far off when we will broadcast color television. Along with the technical problems, this requires also a serious preparation on the part of the creators and of the executors to further raise the effectiveness and the values of television propaganda.

CSO: 2100/24

FAN NOLI CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATED

[Editorial Report] The Tirana dailies ZERI I POPULLIT and BASHKIMI of 6 January 1982 page 3, carry articles commemorating the 100th birthday of Fan S. Noli, illustrated by the same photo of Noli in clerical garb. There is no mention of his role as founder and primate of the Albanian Orthodox Church in the United States, as well as primate of all Illyria, the Western Sea and all Albania. Instead, emphasis is placed on his 6-month term as premier of Albania in 1924. According to BASHKIMI, he "sounded the alert for the defense of the Albanian lands in Kosovo, the plains of Dukagjini and other regions in Macedonia and Montenegro which the secret treaty of London of 1915 gave to the chauvinistic monarchists and he harshly attacked the denationalization plans of the Greater Serbia advocates and Montenegrins against Albanians in these lands". While praising Noli for his original literary works and translations, the author of the BASHKIMI article, Prof. Dhimiter S. Shuteriqi, admits that "in his activity, illusions and underestimation of the role of the masses are evident. During the years of the struggle of the Albanian people against facism, Noli suffered from political oscillations. This was a result of his political and ideological limitations and the fact that he was detached from the real situation in Albania." But, Shuteriqi adds, "although Noli lived in Albania only five years, he became one of the outstanding masters of the use of the Albanian written language." BASHKIMI laments the fact that "the ashes of this exile still lie suffering in exile. The government of the United States did not permit Noli to be returned to his fatherland."

According to BASHKIMI of 7 January a ceremony was held in the Palace of Culture in Tirana to commemorate Noli's birth. Thanas Gjika, from the Institute of Languages and Literature of the Academy of Sciences, spoke about Noli "as one of the outstanding personalities of Albanian history" and pupils from the Fan S. Noli School gave readings from his poetic and journalistic works.

CSO: 2100/44

ZHIVKOV SPEAKS TO STUDENTS ON EXISTING CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Jan 82 pp 1-3

[Verbatim record of a speech given by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the traditional meeting of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee with student youth at the People's Palace of Culture on 7 December 1981: "For Bold Work and the Struggle to Carry Out the Decisions of the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] Dear Comrades.

The celebrating on 8 December of the Bulgarian Students' Day has become a major and fine tradition in socialist Bulgaria. We all are happy to participate in this holiday which with its inspiring ideological loyalty and unique emotional tone more and more is becoming a holiday of all our youth and all our people.

Allow me, dear comrades, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Bulgarian government to most cordially congratulate you on the occasion of the major holiday of Bulgarian students, 8 December.

Happy holiday, dear young friends!

I must frankly say that I am moved along with you. I am moved because during these holiday hours of the traditional meeting of the Politburo with the Bulgarian students I am again among you. I am moved because I am to speak from an extremely important rostrum, not one just anywhere, but in the People's Palace of Culture.

Our meeting, dear comrades, is being held at the end of an exceptional year as 1981 was for all of us. During this year we have most solemnly celebrated the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, the 90th anniversary of the founding of the Marxist revolutionary party in Bulgaria and the 25th anniversary of the historic April Plenum of the party Central Committee. All of this is being turned into a vivid manifestation of our socialist patriotism and internationalism and inspires us with new incentives to work and struggle for building a mature socialism.

Our workers have celebrated these important events with pleasing successes in carrying out the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. And this is exceptionally important as we are justified in calling the 12th Congress a congress of historic significance. The congress thoroughly analyzed our development over the previous decade since the adoption of the Party Program and on this basis outlined for the working

class, the agricultural workers, the intelligentsia and all our people the strategic and tactical tasks in building a developed socialist society up to 1985 and over the long run to 1990.

For this reason now, at the end of this remarkable jubilee year, we with every justification reemphasize the historic significance of the 12th Party Congress. We rightly return to this question, that is, how we are fulfilling and how we will fulfill its decisions in the future as this will determine the further successful development of our society and the further raising of the material and spiritual levels of the people.

I have been informed that at your preholiday meetings with the Politburo members and the other party and state leaders the verbatim record was read of a report given at the National Conference in October 1981 on the occasion of the fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. Obviously this allows me now to avoid taking up a second time the questions and problems which were touched upon at the conference. But this does not mean that we intend to give a detailed new report. We are even less intending to give a lecture as we are aware that there are professors and instructors here and the meeting is being attended by competent young persons while I am neither a professor nor an instructor for giving a lecture but rather one of the leaders of our party and our state. For this reason we will take up certain problems of our socioeconomic development which for explainable reasons which could not and need not have been raised and thoroughly analyzed at the meeting. As for the several questions which were already taken up there, we will examine them from a different aspect.

The first question which must be taken up is self-criticism.

Probably in reading the verbatim record you were well aware that the report to the National Conference was permeated with self-criticism. You will recall with what frankness we spoke about the vicious circles which we must break in order to successfully carry out the congress plans and to accelerate our advancement. This reaffirms that our party, regardless of the achieved advances, is not closing its eyes to the unsolved problems, to the difficulties and shortcomings and has always a sober and self-critical attitude toward the work and toward the examined questions. Self-criticism, self-criticism and again self-criticism!

Naturally the question arises of why, after the 12th Party Congress it was again necessary for criticism and self-criticism. It is not excessive since from the congress rostrum it was reported that in one decade, from the 10th Congress which confirmed the new Party Program up to the present, we have in fact made, to put it figuratively, another Bulgaria. This is undoubtedly a great and historic accomplishment of the party and the people. Or in other words, we have greeted the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state not with one but rather two Bulgarias. In spite of this, at the National Conference we were self-critical of our work in all or almost all the main spheres of social development.

...Criticism and self-criticism are the driving force of our advancement. The leadership, regardless of its level, if it does not possess this great tool, this great force, cannot achieve great and lasting results.

No, comrades, there has been no mistake here. We acted quite correctly. We consciously focused on the unsolved problems, on the shortcomings and weaknesses in order to concentrate the attention and efforts of the party and all the people on their resolution and overcoming. The nature of the BCP, as the directing and leading force in our nation, is such that it cannot develop without self-criticism. Lenin said that the seriousness of a revolutionary party is tested by its ability to show a self-critical attitude toward its work and that a party which is not self-critical dooms itself to death. A socialist state which is not self-critical or which glosses over the difficulties and shortcomings does not bring out and does not use all the reserves and cannot develop successfully; it also is doomed to defeat.

Our own experience, particularly after the Plenum of the party Central Committee in April 1956, has shown how essential criticism and self-criticism are for the development of both the party and the nation. The April Plenum itself was permeated with self-criticism and was an example of the self-critical attitude of a communist party toward its own activities. If we have achieved historic advances since this plenum there can be no doubt that one of the decisive conditions for attaining them has been self-criticism.

Consequently, it is a question not of sheer fashion, not of whimsy and not of infatuation. It is a question of the profound essence of the party, of the socialist state, and of one of their most characteristic features. The question is an exceptionally serious one and it involves both the party as the leading and guiding force as well as our socialist system.

During the period from the 11th to the 12th Congress, we have held several sessions of the party Central Committee and these have been permeated by criticism and self-criticism. In this regard I would remind you of the July Central Committee Plenum in 1976 at which profound and serious criticism and self-criticism were directed at the shortcomings in the various spheres of our development. We proceeded in the same manner at the 1978 National Party Conference. At the November 1980 Central Committee Plenum, we again with great frankness disclosed the weaknesses and unresolved problems. The 12th Party Congress itself defined and discussed the problems and formulated our strategy and tactics for the following period also from the positions of criticism and self-criticism. This was completely natural and necessary. The National Conference which was held after the congress (we have in mind the October Conference) was also held with a dominant theme of self-criticism.

We would like to repeat again that criticism and self-criticism are an exceptionally important factor, a regular feature and driving force without which the great and difficult problems of the nation's development cannot be solved.

Certainly we are aware that our enemies have utilized our self-criticism in order to defame the socialist system. Enemies remain one's enemies and that can be expected. But, comrades, even if we said nothing about our weaknesses, they would still find a pretext to try and defame us. The truth of our successes and the truth of the advantages of socialism over capitalism are rather great and I would say blinding so there is no reason to fear the splatters of mud which our enemies endeavor to throw at us. We have never been guided nor will we be guided in the future by whether or not our enemies benefit from our self-criticism. We are led

by the necessity to ensure the correct carrying out and realization in all sectors of the political line, of the party's strategy and tactics to build a developed socialist society in our nation.

Again I would like to stress that criticism and self-criticism are the driving force of our advancement. Leadership, regardless of its level, if it does not master this great tool, this great force, cannot achieve major and lasting results. On the contrary, there can be stagnation, there can be disintegration and so forth. For this reason even from our earliest years we must instill a feeling for self-criticalness as an inner feeling and as an essential trait in our style of thinking and work.

Consequently, dear young friends, we must be ready for criticism and self-criticism in the future. The question is from what positions do we criticize and self-criticize. Our criticism and self-criticism are not from the standpoint of pessimism or from the position of stagnation and defeat. On the contrary, our criticism and self-criticism are based on the great successes which our nation has achieved. They are vivid proof that our system is a vital one and that it does not tolerate stagnation and routine. No one can accuse the party Central Committee that it carries out criticism and self-criticism from other positions. The Central Committee correctly considers the accomplishments which the people have won under party leadership. At the same time it is guided solely and chiefly by the consideration of how to better discuss and how to more successfully resolve the complex problems of building a developed socialist society and how to even more effectively create conditions for evermore fully and completely satisfying the material, social and spiritual needs of the people.

That is the first question.

The second question which our meeting should bring up relates to the contradictions in our society.

There are contradictions in the development of all societies. Consequently, there are also contradictions in our socialist society. As is known, Marx, Engels and Lenin proved that a society develops precisely along the path of disclosing and overcoming social contradictions. Certainly we are well aware that in a capitalist society the contradictions are antagonistic ones and that the contradiction between labor and capital cannot be resolved without the elimination of the capitalist system itself.

But, as I have said, there are also contradictions in our society. In it objective laws and patterns are also at work on the basis of which definite contradictions arise and cannot help but arise. Our society also develops along the path of discovering and overcoming these contradictions. Regardless of our desire or lack of desire, these contradictions appear objectively. But it is a different question that they have their own specific features and differ substantially from the contradictions which operate under capitalism.

When we speak of the contradictions in our society, we, for example, have in mind all the contradictions inherited from the past which socialism, as the first phase of communism, could not immediately surmount. In this regard we have already

achieved a good deal. Suffice it to recall how much we have done to overcome the opposition and then the essential differences between city and countryside, between mental and physical labor and so forth.

In addition to this, our society which is now in the stage of building mature socialism, is developing dynamically and at stable and high rates in all areas by utilizing the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. This development also gives rise to its own contradictions and involves their disclosure and resolution. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that socialism, since it has been victorious in just one part of the world, is also in contact with both internal and external contradictions and the contradictions between the socialist and capitalist systems.

I recall there was a time when certain philosophers even denied the presence of social contradictions in a socialist society. Even now there are scholars who mute the contradictions under socialism. We cannot agree with such opinions because life itself has confirmed that there are contradictions in our socialist society now. Certainly these contradictions are not antagonistic ones and their disclosure and surmounting lead not to the elimination of the socialist system but, on the contrary, to its strengthening. For this reason they are resolved on their own basis and they arise, operate and are resolved under conditions where the basic interests of society and its social groups coincide.

Our party's Central Committee has given and does give great importance to our contradictions, it constantly endeavors to disclose them, to promptly study them and find specific measures for consistently overcoming them. We are led by an awareness that this is an essential prerequisite for correctly defining and implementing the general line, the strategy and tactics of our party.

With good reason, the philosophers say that a contradiction and its resolution lead forward. And our task, as leaders, regardless of on what level we stand or in what sector we work, is to disclose the emerging contradictions, to take the necessary measures and create the appropriate prerequisites and conditions for surmounting them.

Consequently, for us, as party and state leadership, as a party and as a community, it is exceptionally important to have a good understanding of the current social contradictions, to promptly disclose them and to do everything within our power to overcome them.

In the report at the October Conference, the record of which you are familiar with, nothing was said about contradictions. However, in essence there approaches have been offered and measures outlined for various spheres and these are aimed at overcoming the contradictions in our development.

In terms of the social contradictions, two approaches are in principle possible.

With one the efforts are focused at overcoming the consequences from the action of the given contradiction or reducing its negative impact.

At the 12th Party Congress we did not proceed in this manner.

Why?

Because we were aware that it was not sufficient to struggle merely to limit the negative consequences from the given contradiction and that this struggle would not end merely by the elimination of one or another specific negative consequence.

Because, and this is the main thing, to struggle against negative consequences, without resolving the most real contradictions, means to eliminate only the consequences, in overlooking the most profound factors which gave rise to them.

...For us, as the party and state leadership, as a party and as a community, it is exceptionally important for us to be well aware of the existing social contradictions, to promptly disclose them and to do everything possible to surmount them.

For this reason, we have applied a different approach, that is, without underestimating for a single instant the work of restricting the negative effects of one or another contradiction, we have been concerned with the crucial thing, namely the overcoming of the contradictions themselves which have given rise to the negative consequences. In addition to this we have been aware that for resolving the contradictions not particular measures are needed but rather an integrated, comprehensive approach which would encompass all their aspects and actions.

This is the profound idea of the new theoretical elaborations and of the practical tasks outlined by the 12th Party Congress.

Let us take such problems as the problems of the material and technical base of developed socialism, of socialist ownership at the present stage, the relationship between centralism and decentralism in social administration, of the economic approach and its mechanism and so forth. Here, in the course of our socioeconomic development, new contradictions mature and become apparent, and a struggle arises between the new and the old. The necessity of disclosing and overcoming these contradictions was the initial tenet and the basis for outlining the strategic and tactical tasks by the 12th Congress. At the National Conference of October 1981, these tasks were spelled out more concretely for the purpose of mobilizing the party and the broad masses of people to consistently carry out the congress decisions.

Let us take several examples.

You are already familiar with the ideas of the 12th Congress concerning socialist ownership and more specifically the owner and master of socialist property. In Bulgaria the state is the owner of socialist property by its authority and as the representative of the people. The master of socialist property is the corresponding production collectives and the workers who are employed in the economic organizations and utilize and husband this property.

Are there contradictions between the owner of socialist property in the person of the state which carries out the authority of millions of people in our nation and acts on their behalf and the master of this property in the person of production collectives and those who participate in them, that is, the workers, specialists, leaders and so forth?

Yes, there are, and these contradictions arise on the basis of the patterns operating in the present stage of our development.

The reason is because the relations between the state and the worker collectives are not something fixed and something given once and for all. The fundamental interests of both the state and the working collectives coincide and they demand the strengthening and enrichment of socialist property. For this reason, there can be no antagonistic contradictions between them.

At the same time each of the parties in these relationships is developing and becoming richer, and this gives rise to one or another contradiction. In certain periods, some functions of the state out of necessity have been extended to a greater or lesser degree to direct control of property. Later, both from the viewpoint of the development of property (state and cooperative) and from the viewpoint of the social development of our society, a situation developed in which contradictions arose between these functions of the state and the necessity of the collectives to directly control property and themselves to manage it with maximum effectiveness. As is known, over time this became a major shortcoming which ran counter to the principle of democratic centralism.

But can successes in work be achieved regardless of these contradictions? No, they cannot! However, can these contradictions lead to distortions? They can! This question has been dealt with both at the 12th Congress and at the National Conference. Some may feel that these contradictions could be overcome, for example, by restricting the functions of the persons in control [the masters]. Others are inclined to reduce this task to particular measures, for example, to a mere increasing of the awareness of the workers, to the strengthening of indoctrination and so forth. It is clear that such an approach is not sufficient. It does not take into account the nature of the contradictions or of their entire action and manifestation.

The correct approach to these contradictions must bring out what are the rights, obligations and tasks of the state as the owner and of the worker collectives who manage or are in charge of the socialist property. The state has the duty to develop and multiply this property in order to guarantee the nation's basic balances and to ensure a constant rise in the material and cultural level of the workers. At present we are instituting a procedure whereby the functions of the state will not be extended to the direct management of property. Here we are outlining the appropriate measures in order to provide a complete opportunity for the labor collectives to manage socialist property, with maximum effectiveness to add to it and to develop it simultaneously both in the interest of the state, the people and their own interest. We are doing this on the basis of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

Consequently, at the 12th Congress and the National Conference of 1981, we did not restrict ourselves to just the consequences of these contradictions. We examined them completely in their movement and development, and we outlined a range of measures--economic, political, financial, organizational, indoctrinational and so forth--for their overcoming. In this way we, on the one hand, are clarifying and improving the functions, obligations and rights of the state as the owner of socialist property under the authority of the people. On the other hand, we are raising the

role of the labor collective, its self-initiative, we are broadening and strengthening economic democracy. Such solutions provide us with an opportunity to seek out the best combination of the interests of the state and the people with the interests of each labor collective and each worker in Bulgaria.

Or let us take, for example, the contradiction between the new high demands which the building of mature socialism makes on the productive forces and social labor productivity on the one hand, and the level of the material and technical base we have achieved, on the other. How is this manifested? In the fact that the material and technical base with today's development level does not provide an opportunity to fully build a mature socialist society, to fully bring out the advantages of mature socialism and particularly to achieve a social labor productivity that is higher than that under capitalism. It still does not provide all of the essential conditions for highly satisfying the material, social and spiritual needs of the people.

This contradiction can be overcome by building a material and technical base which will be adequate to a developed socialist society. For this reason the 12th Congress outlined the basic directions and tasks for building our own material and technical base for developed socialism by introducing the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and particularly full automation as well as by full mechanization and the broad use of Bulgarian and foreign advanced experience.

Or let us take, for example, the contradiction between centralism and decentralism in the management of our society. We are building developed socialism on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. For this, this is an unswerving basis on which in the future we will direct and build the entire social system. But this principle is not a stagnant one, it is developing constantly and being enriched in accord with the specific conditions. An unjustified strengthening of centralism at the expense of decentralism or conversely of decentralism at the expense of centralism can cause great harm. For this reason the party is endeavoring at each stage to find the most correct balance between centralism and decentralism and to develop and enrich their unity.

...In the future we must steadfastly carry out the party line of conforming to the requirements of objective laws, of raising the level of work in the various elements of the subjective factor and improving their style and methods of activity.

What measures have been outlined by the 12th Congress for overcoming this contradiction? The congress has considered the changes which have occurred in our economy, in political life and in other spheres, and has set out significant measures to increase the self-initiative of the enterprises, of the labor collectives, the settlement [conurbation] systems and all the inferior levels. The improving of planning on a basis of the new economic approach and its mechanism, the increased role of the counterplan with the active involvement of the labor collectives, the introduction of the new type of the brigade organization of labor and so forth--all of this will help to improve social administration in Bulgaria and to further develop socialist democracy.

Naturally the question arises of whether the disclosure of the given contradictions and the implementation of comprehensive measures to overcome them mean that in the future no new contradictions will arise in our society? No, comrades, the elimination of the given contradiction does not mean the disappearance of contradictions under socialism. The reason is because contradictions are constantly reproduced whether in one or another sphere or whether in one or another form.

Let us take, as an example, the state and cooperative form of socialist ownership. Have there been contradictions between them? There have. Due to a number of historical factors, the level of socialization in the means of production in agriculture lagged far behind the level of socialization in state property. The material basis of cooperative ownership lagged behind in comparison with that of state property and so forth. These contradictions, on the one hand, are on the way of being overcome due to the development of state ownership and its higher degree of concentration and, on the other, due to the constantly increased level of the socialization of the means of production in agriculture by the development of agroindustrial complexes. But here, when the process of the merging and reciprocal penetration of the two forms of ownership has reached a very advanced degree, a new contradiction arises, the contradiction between the owner and the master of socialist property which we mentioned a bit before, and so forth, and so forth.

Let us take another question, that is, the brigade organization of labor which with today's conditions in the development of the material and technical base is exceptionally essential. Can we feel that in the future, when we have brought the entire economy to a situation of full automation, the present brigade organization will be maintained and that contradictions will not arise between it and the new production level. No, we cannot because this form of the organization of labor at a certain stage will enter into a contradiction with the existing level and with the new requirements of production and the economy as a whole. Consequently, in our work--both theoretical and practical--we have consistently proceeded and will proceed from the tenet that in life contradictions arise and cannot help but arise as these stem naturally from the nature of new social processes and phenomena and from the ascending development of our socialist society. These contradictions are of an objective nature and they must not be denied or neglected, they must not be fled from but rather promptly brought out, recognized and resolved.

As I have already emphasized, we are proceeding in this manner and this is obviously one of the "secrets" in the vitality and fruitfulness of the Leninist general April line of our party.

But, comrades, in addition to the contradictions of an objective nature, contradictions are also possible which do not derive naturally from the essence of the new processes and phenomena in the development of socialism and which are due predominantly to weaknesses or oversights in the activities of certain elements in carrying out party policy. These contradictions are of a subjective nature.

Let us take the question of public health services. This question was also examined by the 12th Congress and was brought up at the National Conference. Are there contradictions in the health sphere? There are, comrades. It is true that the successes of our socialist public health have been great. We have achieved one of the first places in the world in terms of the number of physicians and nurses per 1,000

of the population; we possess a developed health network, medical specialists are known abroad and so forth. However it is no secret that the level of health services lags far behind the needs of the public. This can be explained both by the lag in the physical plant and by other factors which depend upon the personnel working in this area. But we must say that there are serious subjective reasons for the occurrence of these contradictions in our health services. For this reason the National Conference sharply raised the question of utilizing every opportunity to overcome these contradictions over the long run and in the next and following years to begin to fully utilize the health facilities already created in Bulgaria and to make a fundamental change in the method of health services for the public.

...In Bulgaria everything is done for the sake of man, for the good of people, and for the ever fuller satisfying of the increasing material and cultural needs of the people.

Or let us take legal services. In this area we have indisputable advances. Primarily as a result of subjective factors, contradictions have arisen which must be overcome at any price. Without any valid reason thousands of people run about and waste their time and the questions are not always resolved in full accord with the requirements of our laws. The courts and the entire legal system are far from carrying out their basic function which is to strengthen our socialist system. Instead of being centers for the indoctrination of people, the legal institutions in many instances cause them moral trauma. There is a similar situation with administrative services and so forth.

By these examples, young comrades, I would like to emphasize that we do have contradictions which arise not only from the action of objective laws of social development. There are also contradictions which are due to subjective factors, to errors and shortcomings, to an incorrect style of work and leadership brought about by the subjective factor, by the leading cadres and by individual institutions. This type of contradiction arising out of manifestations of subjectivism causes us enormous harm and it also must be decisively overcome. The reason is subjectivism inevitably exacerbates the existing contradictions, it leads to arbitrariness and distortions. The difficulties in our work arise not only from the fact that there are contradictions under socialism which arise on the basis of its objective patterns. Difficulties also come from the subjective factor if this factor does not take into account the real contradictions and if it is unable to promptly disclose and overcome them.

For precisely this reason a characteristic trait in the approach of our party in directing the socioeconomic and spiritual processes has been that it not only considers the existence of all these contradictions but also does not permit them to rot or to become a source of social distortion and shocks. This has been an historic accomplishment and a major achievement of April Bulgaria. For this reason in the future we must consistently carry out the party line of taking into account the requirements of objective laws, we must raise the level of work in the various areas of the subjective factor and we must improve the style and methods of activity. In the future we must increase the creative role of the subjective factor, we must strengthen its ability to correctly analyze real processes and phenomena, we must promptly disclose contradictions which have appeared and mobilize the workers to promptly resolve them.

The next question which I would like to take is that of appropriation.

We have in mind appropriation in the sense of the distribution of goods created in the production process. Is the appropriation of goods in a socialist society the same as it is in capitalism? It is, comrades. There is appropriation in Bulgaria and there is appropriation in a capitalist society. But the difference, as the people say, is one of black and white.

As you know, under the conditions of one plant, net product is created and on a nationwide scale, national income. As is known, national income is created where there is the production of material goods. National income is created also under capitalism. The entire question is how this income is distributed and who appropriates it. This is the problem of problems! Under capitalism, the lion's share of newly created income is appropriated by the capitalists, while under socialism this remains totally for the workers and for the people.

How is national income distributed in Bulgaria?

Around 25 percent of it goes to create new capacity and to increase the material and technical base of the reproduction process. It must be said that after the April Plenum there were periods when this portion exceeded 25 percent, sometimes reaching up to 30 percent. The remaining 75 percent of national income went to the wage fund which was distributed according to the quantity and quality of the invested labor and for the public funds which are used by all the nation's citizens.

This is the method of distributing national income in Bulgaria. The first source of income for the workers is the remuneration which is received according to the socialist principle of distribution, or, as is still said, wages. The second source is the public consumption funds. On this basis is formed the real income of each citizen.

When our party was in opposition and was struggling to overthrow the capitalist system, it clearly and categorically stated that we were fighting for communism, for a society in which each man would work according to his abilities and would receive according to his needs. But in order to achieve this, it is essential to eliminate the exploitation of man-by-man and to build a new communist society in which communist justice would reign.

As you are well aware, communists, the communist principle of distribution "from each according to his abilities and to each according to his needs" can be applied in the second, in the higher phase of a communist society, when the required material and spiritual prerequisites will be created. At present we are building the material and technical base for the first phase of communism. In addition to this, under socialism the law of value operates objectively and commodity-monetary relationships exist, although qualitatively different ones from those under capitalism. Consequently, in the first phase of a communist society there will not be the objective premises for the production of enough material and spiritual goods so that each member of society can completely and fully satisfy his needs.

One may then wonder whether we did not lie to the working class and the workers when we spoke about justice and social equality. No we did not. We did not lie to them. Because even now we are carrying out this cherished desire of mankind, the equality of all people in labor.

How is this equality expressed at the present stage? It is in the equal right of each member of society to work and to receive according to the quality and quantity of the invested labor. At this stage there is and cannot be a different equality or a different, juster principle of distribution. It is no accident that the 12th Congress which was concerned with the question of improving distribution relations in Bulgaria reemphasized that the main source of the workers' income must be the remuneration which they receive according to the quantity and quality of their labor.

There is no capitalist state in the world which distributes its national income so justly. Only a socialist nation, only the new socialist system, in eliminating the exploitation of man-by-man, creates an opportunity to realize the principle of equality, that is, everyone has a real right to work, everyone receives according to the same measure, according to the quantity and quality of the invested labor. And this is an enormous victory of ours!

But the question is not exhausted and cannot be exhausted merely by the labor of an individual man. The workers do not work in isolation from one another. For example, in a plant everyone works in a brigade and his wages inevitably will depend not only upon his personal labor but also upon the results achieved by the entire brigade. But the brigade also does not work in isolation. It is also a part of the labor collective at the entire plant. Thus, the good work of a brigade depends also upon the work of the entire plant while the work results of the plant depend, to a certain degree, upon the work of the entire combine or association. On the other hand, the work results of an association or combine depend upon how the work is carried out on a national scale and what are the results of a national economy. In this manner, under socialist conditions, each citizen inevitably and naturally becomes politicized, he is vitally interested and cannot help but be interested in how the situation is in the nation, in the development of the national economy and society as a whole. The socialist principle of distribution welds all the members of society into a single whole.

Certainly, among the millions of our people, there are also those who are only dissatisfied, only demand, without giving back or investing what they are capable of. But the enormous portion of our people is involved in the production and reproduction process, they take active part in the political and ideological life of the nation and make their contribution to building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria.

Todor Zhivkov or any other party and state leader can give a speech and call for labor, for production activeness and so forth. But if we do not correctly apply the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of the invested labor, if we do not consider how the basic provisions about a correct, social justice and equality of people conform to the current objective patterns and existing level of the material and technical base, such speeches will have no effect. As I have said, real wages depend upon the work both of the individual worker, the brigade, the plant, the combine, the state and the government. Certainly but not lastly it depends upon the work of the party Central Committee and upon its staff, the Politburo.

What is the conclusion, comrades? At this stage there is and cannot be any other equality as some might wish with the dividing of the pie into equal pieces. This

does not and cannot be. We will divide the pie not into equal pieces, not evenly, but rather according to the contributions of each person who participated in its preparation. There is no other way. If we divide it evenly, there will be no socialism and after this no communism. This is the problem. As you can see it is a clear and simple one. If we adopt the other, we will introduce wage leveling, we will fall into asceticism, into barracks communism and so forth. There are examples of this in certain countries.

Consequently, the task is for each young person to be well aware that he must work, that he cannot take as much of the pie as he would like but rather will receive an appropriate portion depending upon his personal contribution.

It is essential to point out that the better prepared you are as young specialists, the better you have mastered the profession you have chosen, the more fully and effectively you will be able to realize yourself in life and the greater will be your share in the creation and distribution of new goods. With good reason we are now reorganizing the entire educational system on the basis of acquiring a profession. But some will say isn't this educational system contrary to the view of Engels that in the future each person must be prepared to exercise a broad range of professions? No, it is not contradictory.

The educational system which we are presently building provides an opportunity for our youth to acquire a profession in a broad area in the aim of further specialization in the corresponding area of work. This is the purpose of the third degree in the secondary and higher school. Won't we create narrow specialists by this? No, comrades. The other two degrees of the educational system are designed to prepare our youth as highly educated, cultured and ideologically tempered.

Certainly, our educational system will undergo improvement. But even now its basic aim is to prepare well developed people, cultured, knowledgeable and able persons, with an acquired profession and capable of realizing themselves fully in labor and life. You can imagine that a young person has completed his education as an engineer, gone off to a factory and become a production commander. But what sort of a commander would he be if he had not acquired solid knowledge and if he was not professionally prepared for this? As you can see, the question of acquiring a profession and of obtaining practical knowledge and the ability to apply it scientifically in practice is exceptionally important.

Recently, I visited Gabrovo and Ruse and attended the higher technical institutes there. One can give the best assessment and praise the two institutes for their work, for their accomplishments in training the students, for carrying out scientific research and developing new technology and so forth. All of this is well and good. When I was there, I congratulated the comrades. But we must be realists. The physical plant at the Gabrovo institute and the Ruse institute is almost like a craft shop, and far from the present achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. The blame is not to be laid at the doors of the Ministry of Public Education or the corresponding higher institutions of learning. The blame is ours. Because it is impossible to train students for tomorrow if they are not instructed in facilities equipped with electronic computers, with modern scientific instruments and devices, with shops for experimenting and so forth. They must be trained not for today but rather for at least 4 or 5 years to come. Consequently, we must

raise the present physical plant of the higher technical institutes. I have not been to the V. I. Lenin Higher Machine and Electrical Engineering Institute in Sofia. It is said that good work has been done there in this area. I have been invited to visit it.

We are counting on our fine youth to wage an energetic and uncompromising struggle against the negative phenomena in our society and to enrich and add to the great truth of socialism.

We on the Politburo have reviewed these questions and have resolved that the higher technical institutes as well as Sofia University must be equipped with modern technology in order that they themselves create new production methods and become a support for the scientific groups which are working in the various sectors and production so that the students in them will gain solid training. The same thing applies to the equipment in the corresponding institutes under the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. At the present stage we do not have an opportunity to equip all the institutes and scientific groups in the nation. But these we can. These are only several technical institutes. At present we have only individual institutes which are up-to-date. One of them is the Varna Shipbuilding Institute. It is a good idea to go and see what it is. Perhaps not everything has been settled there, I am no specialist, but we are already capable of building shops which are competitive on all markets. We must have several institutes on such a level and turn them into modern centers for the development of new production methods and so that we can also sharply improve the training of the personnel.

But immediately another question comes up, that is, the question of those who teach. We highly regard and respect their labor, but obviously many of them need retraining in order to fully meet the new areas and requirements which confront the institutions of higher learning. They themselves must have a good knowledge and operate the new modern equipment and they must be fully prepared both for providing the students with a profession as well as for furthering scientific research, developing new production methods and so forth. With the present situation many of them cannot handle these tasks and must promptly undergo retraining. Let me be perfectly clear on this point. I do not feel that they are to blame. At present, the physical plant is different and the methods and demands on teaching are also different. If the facilities change then also instruction must change qualitatively.

Let me move on to the next question, that is, of the great and "minor truth." Some people might say: how long are we going to speak about this great and "minor truth." Incidentally, I introduced these concepts several years ago at a meeting of the Bulgarian Writer's Union. These expressions started then and have become accepted and widely used.

What did I have in mind when I used these expressions?

I had in mind the real, contradictory reality in a socialist society.

What does the great truth mean?

It means that we have eliminated the exploitation of man-by-man, we have eliminated unemployment, and we have created a new type of relations between people, relations

of friendship and mutual aid. This means that we are doing everything for the sake of man, for the good of people, for evermore fully satisfying the growing material and cultural needs of the people.

This, comrades, is the great truth of our system. It largely describes our society. This truth does not and cannot exist in any capitalist nation. Exploitation of man-by-man, inflation, unemployment and insecurity about tomorrow--this is the great truth of the capitalist system.

But when we speak about the great truth in Bulgaria, we do not close our eyes to the manifestations of the so-called "minor truth," that is the fevery, bureaucracy, sycophancy, intercession, embezzlement and so forth.

For this reason, comrades, we will never correctly indoctrinate the younger generation if from the school seat, from Pioneer age to the last grade in secondary school, we talk only of the great truth and do not say that along with it there also exists and cannot help but exist a "minor truth." Is it possible generally at the present stage of our society's development, when the law of value operates, when there are commodities, money, when there are commodity-monetary relations and so forth, when everyone, from an ordinary citizen to the chairman of the State Council, in order to drink a lemonade, must pay for it, with the exception of official dinners and evenings which nobody knows who pays, that no "minor truth" exists? As long as there are goods, as long as there is money, as long as there are commodity-monetary relations, it is clear that there will be people who deviate from the socialist principles and morality, there will be people who will attempt to steal. Since 48 percent of the labor in material production is still manual, it is clear that there are people who will shirk and will try to fix themselves up in life, who will resort to intercession and will find those who will grant these intercessions.

Hence the "minor truth" does exist and it is also a reality. However we are not passive and we are waging a war against the manifestations of the "minor truth." This is no rash statement. Our constitution defends the socialist system, socialist property and socialist morality. All our legislation is based and will be based on this. The control bodies, state and people's control, the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the court and prosecutor's office are fighting and will fight against this "minor truth." The public organizations must also fight and are fighting against the "minor truth." Our ideological and indoctrinational work is also aimed at this and in the future will continue to fight against such manifestations, it will disclose their roots and seek ways to overcome them.

This is our position, it is a class, Marxist-Leninist position. This position was laid out also in the decisions of the 12th Congress. The reorganization which we are carrying out in our economy or the introduction of the so-called new economic approach and economic mechanism will strike with economic means against the "minor truths," and will reduce and cannot help but reduce its manifestations.

For example, take the introduction of the competitive principle. Our party has clear tenets on this question. Gradually everywhere leadership positions will be filled by competition. As is known, the elaboration and implementation of cadre policy in our nation are a concern and duty for our party. What will the situation be in the future with the competitive principle? For example, we have five

candidates for a given post. What is the party's role here? Its obligation is to check what is the political and moral background of these people. If one of them has been dishonest, then the party must caution that he must not be allowed to compete. Then the remaining four must compete. As you know, if you have competed, this is not easy work and you must show what qualities you possess and whether you are fit for the given position and the given job. This will be the practice in our society and there can be no other.

Or let us take, for example, the brigade organization of labor. If the brigade is put on cost accounting and self-support, clearly no one can demand that the brigade leader accept one or another worker in his brigade. If he is a loafer, if he is not skilled or does not try to become skilled, then someone else must work for him and as a result the brigade will receive less remuneration. What sort of brigade is this if it would agree to pay a loafer or people who do not want to become skilled?! What sort of shop is it which would agree to pay an engineer who is untrained and merely loiters around the equipment?! With the current new situation and under the conditions of the new economic approach someone would have to pay for him and it would be from the job of others.

I do not want to assert and I am not asserting that all the measures which we take and will take will eliminate these negative phenomena in a single swoop. This cannot be done. We are not doctrinaire and we are fully aware that there are conditions for the existence of the "minor truth." Time is needed to overcome these conditions. But this does not mean that we tolerate the manifestations of the "minor truth." No, we are waging and must wage a struggle against it.

And here precisely is the role to be played by the Komsomol, the role of our entire educational system. It is essential to indoctrinate the younger generation in the name of the great truth. This is correct and this is essential. But it must also be said that a "minor truth" exists along with it and we must point out what are its manifestations, what are its roots and what must be done to eliminate it. The younger generation must be immunized against the "minor truth" and have their own criteria in assessing its manifestations and be ready to fight against it. This is an exceptionally important task. We are convinced that our Komsomol and our educational system will carry it out well. We are counting on our fine youth to wage an energetic and uncompromising struggle against the negative phenomena in our society and to enrich and add to the great truth of socialism.

After this, Comrade Todor Zhivkov took up certain timely questions of the international situation.

At the end of his speech he again congratulated the student youth and wished them new successes in studies, in labor and in their personal life.

(The speech of Comrade Todor Zhivkov was listened to with great attention and was frequently interrupted and accompanied by extended applause and by the exclamations "BCP, BCP," "Forward with the BCP!," and "Where the Party Is There Are We!")

10272
CSO: 2200/49

BULGARIA

TRADE UNION LEADER SPEAKS ON NEW ECONOMIC APPROACH, DISCIPLINE, MANAGEMENT

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 13 Jan 82 pp 1-2

[Speech by Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the BPS [Bulgarian Trade Unions] Central Council chairman: "The Labor Collective is in the Frontline Position of the Trade Unions in the Struggle for the Implementation of the Decisions of the 12th BCP Congress"]

[Text] The 22nd plenum of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council was held in Sofia yesterday. In addition to the members and candidate members of the Central Council and the members of the BPS Central Auditing Commission, the plenum was attended by chairmen and secretaries of sectorial trade union central committees and BPS okrug councils, plenum nonmembers and senior trade union personnel. Also attending were Tisho Mishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, Georgi Grigorov, head of the BCP Central Committee Organizational Department and Dimitur Dimitrov, head of the BCP Central Committee People's Councils and Mass Organizations Department.

The following agenda was adopted:

1. The labor collective is in the front position held by the trade unions in the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress: report by Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the BPS Central Council;
2. Setting down the time of the convocation of the ninth congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions, approval of representation norms and method for the election of delegates: reported by Georgi Evgeniev, BPS Central Council deputy chairman;
3. Approval of the BPS budget and table of organization for 1982: reported by Yanko Petrov, BPS Central Council secretary.

Our socialist society has entered a period of profound changes. They affect the foundations of the economy, social management and social relations. These changes are taking place under the influence of the historical decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. The socioeconomic strategy which the congress formulated enriched and concretized the party's program of building a mature socialist society, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov emphasized at the beginning of his report.

The congress's resolutions formulate qualitatively new tasks in all areas of our life and require a number of essential changes. How do they affect Bulgarian Trade Unions?

First. The congress's decisions raise to a new height the place and role of trade unions in the socialist political system. They place the trade unions in an even stronger position in production and social management.

This is based on the new historical responsibilities and increased role of the working class whose all-embracing organization the trade unions are.

This is based on the strengthened leading role of the party in society and the development and place of the trade unions as its irreplaceable mass support. The strength of the trade unions lies in the party's leadership and is the safest guarantee for the implementation of their historical mission.

Second. The congress's resolutions give all trade union activities a new richer content.

In the production-economic area, the new content is defined by intensification, the new economic approach and the brigade organization of labor. In the social area it is defined by the comprehensive satisfaction of material, spiritual and social needs in accordance with the purchasing power of the working people, the direct tie between social development and production effectiveness and the new role of the collective in meeting the direct needs of the working people.

In the ideological area it is defined by the task of turning the new developments, ideas and stipulations into convictions and actions of the working people.

Third. The congress's resolutions arm the trade unions with effective means for the development and enhancement of the social and labor activeness of the working people.

These means include mainly material incentive, cost effectiveness, self-sufficiency and the conditions which are being created for the blossoming of socialist democracy for the direct and growth participation of the working people in production management.

The time after the 12th congress was a period of interpretation and clarification of congress decisions and of taking the initial steps toward the practical implementation of most immediate assignments.

The one May meeting between the BCP Central Committee politburo and order-bearers and frontrankers, the mobilizing speech delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the efforts to implement the appeal-pledge provided the first strong impetus for the implementation of the congress's resolutions.

Currently, active efforts are being made throughout the country for the practical implementation of the resolutions of the 12th party congress. It is being organized and conducted on the basis of the platform earmarked by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his speech at the October national conference. The tremendous importance of this speech is that it provides an answer to the overall problems of our development on the basis of a profound analysis of social processes. It is a major contribution to the theory and practice of building a developed socialist society.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov provided a new and original formulation of the basic theoretical problems of the nature and development of the material and technical base, concentration and specialization based on the multiplication approach, means of management of socialist property, the new attitude toward the problems of the living standard, etc.

These elaborations are used in resolving the most topical and complex problems of today. They are also of a long-term nature.

On the other hand, this speech arms us with approaches and means of action for the implementation of the congress's resolutions. It is thus that Comrade Todor Zhivkov converted to a tactical work plan the major problems of development and related them to the real needs of life.

At the same time, he urgently raised topical practical problems whose solution brooks no delay.

The problems which Comrade Todor Zhivkov discussed at the October national conference pertain to our entire public, to all political, state, economic and public organs and organizations and to all working people. However, they are mainly directed to problems of the economic organization and the labor collective, where the fate of the party's socioeconomic strategy is being cited.

That is precisely why today the labor collective is becoming the frontline position of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and that is precisely why it is in this area that we must concentrate all of our efforts and all of our activities for the implementation of the congress's resolutions, for it is in the collective that the decisive battle for production intensification will be fought and it is within the collective that the new economic management methods will prove their advantages. The basic social needs of the people will be satisfied within the collective and through the collective.

Guided by this understanding, the purpose of this plenum is to define our basic tasks in orienting and concentrating trade union activities on the implementation of the congress's resolutions within the labor collective, which under the new circumstances objectively becomes the main sector of the entire trade union front.

I. Trade Union Work in the Labor Collective for the Implementation of the Party's Economic Policy

1. The New Economic Approach and Our Tasks

The need to concentrate trade union work in the labor collective is based above all on the systematic application of the new economic approach in all areas of social life. The 12th congress pointed out that under the conditions of the new economic approach and mechanism and the use of cost effectiveness and self-support, the role of the labor collective immeasurably grows and changes qualitatively.

We already have an economic mechanism for national economic management in the Eighth Five-Year Plan, which encompasses the entire economic structure ranging from the brigade to the national economic complex. Actually, this is a system of essentially new methods of economic management, new forms of management and organization, new means and powerful levers for expanding the initiative and activeness of the working people. Cost effectiveness and self-support are the core of this system. The main objective of the new economic approach and mechanism, its main purpose, is for the labor collective to become deeply interested in the results of its labor, to act as the real owner of the socialist property put at its disposal, and to bear the responsibility for the economic results of its actions in the course of its management.

Today the labor collective has the power to define its main tasks, to support itself, to ensure its own well-being, to protect and multiply socialist property and to use it most effectively for the benefit of society and of itself.

This is the change which, based on interest, brings into action the tremendous creative forces for the utilization of the advantages of the socialist production method and socialist way of life. Let us immediately point out, however, that this change does not occur automatically. It is a difficult process. It is a struggle which must convert the new economic approach into mass awareness, a way of thinking, acting and living of the working person.

As an organization which is the closest to the production process and encompasses millions of people precisely in the area of their labor activities, the trade unions today have no greater or more responsible task than that of taking the economic mechanism to the brigades, to the people and, together with the economic organizations, contribute to its systematic application.

Failure to understand this means failure to understand anything. Our work will be sterile should we fail to accomplish this.

The new economic approach updates the meaning and content of Lenin's definition that the trade unions are a school of management, a school of administration.

The change which the new economic approach triggers is substantial. It applies above all to the attitude toward property. So far, the worker and the collective did not feel to a sufficient extent the consequences of the proper and improper use of productive capital. A certain alienation from public property and theft and encroachments on such property even developed.

Under the conditions of the new economic approach, the productive capital will be managed by the labor collectives and brigades themselves. This approach introduces direct material incentive and responsibility for its most effective utilization and coordinates the interests of society, the collective and the individual.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov drew a clear demarcation line between rights, obligations and tasks of the state, as the owner, on the one hand, and the collective, as the manager, on the other. The new economic mechanism provides a practical elaboration of this stipulation. Understanding it is the prime condition for the proper understanding and application of the new economic approach and mechanism. It is the starting point in defining the functions and tasks of the trade unions as a school for socialist management and administration under the new circumstances. To be such a school means the following:

First. To teach the workers and the collectives how to understand the specific manifestation of the new economic approach and mechanism in the course of their work.

The task is for the principles and stipulations to become simple values understood by anyone, values which the worker can handle easily and freely and draw his own conclusions. Hence, everyone must learn how to assess economic benefits, work more effectively, criticize and make suggestions.

The new economic approach and mechanism must come out of plant offices and move to the shops, brigades and workplaces.

Along with economic influence, educational means must be used in order to prove specifically and convincingly, with examples borrowed from personal practice, the losses suffered by a collective which fails to make effective use of the property assigned to it and when it allows its waste.

Second. For us to be a school of management and administration means above all to become the main motive force in counterplanning, to become actually coresponsible and co-participants with the economic management in the formulation and implementation of counterplans. It is particularly important to direct the workers' collectives toward reaching high results through the use of intensive factors, a strict conservation system and the lowering of production costs.

Third. We must develop the labor and social activeness of collectives and working people on the basis of the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of the labor invested and the consequent results affecting wages. The new economic approach and mechanism introduce a qualitative change in distribution relations. Now nothing will be "god-given." The collective itself will work out its wage and distribute it according to contribution.

That is why the trade unions have the important obligation of assuring the participation of entire collectives in distribution, so that the contribution of the individual working person may be determined most accurately and his wages justly computed according to this contribution. We must intensify the social assessment of labor and protect the new distribution principles from all distortions.

The new economic approach and mechanism enrich the economic and social content of the prospective function of the trade unions. Under present-day conditions, the implementation of this function calls for a struggle for the systematic application of the distribution system based on the quantity and quality of labor: he who works better must receive more. We must struggle against equalization and the social and labor passiveness it creates. We must struggle against bureaucracy, inertia and inability of some managers to create conditions for highly organized and effective work. Protection means to struggle for discipline in production and management and to be merciless toward idlers, wasters, incompetents and tricksters who give little but demand much.

Fourth. In order to be a true school of management it must turn every working person into an active and direct participant in production management. The new legal and socioeconomic status of the labor collective makes its life democratic and increases its rights greatly. In order to exercise its rights, it will have at its disposal and entire system of collective management organs and other forms of direct democracy.

As Lenin said, the ability to manage does not come from the sky. In order to manage the workers must learn. They must be competent in the areas of the problems they resolve. They must express their views freely, critically and constructively. We must not tolerate any attempt whatever at restricting democracy. We must not neglect the opinions and suggestions of the working people and suppress criticism from below. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov says, finding out what the people think is not a matter of courtesy, for a person is active only when he can see that his words are being heard and his views are taken into consideration.

Democracy in production management can exist and develop and be effective only if it is based on strong socialist discipline and when the expanded rights and autonomy of the collective serve the interest of society. Democracy is a dialectical blend of one-man command, collectivism and discipline.

All this indicates that the new economic approach and stipulations formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the subject of the collective as manager meet Lenin's definition of trade unions as a school of management and administration, giving it a new content and effective power under contemporary conditions.

2. The Brigade Organization is the Basic Factor in the Systematic Application of the New Economic Approach

Under the conditions of the new economic approach and mechanism the brigade is the primary production, economic and social unit which directly combines the individual elements of the production process and in which incentives and responsibilities for the effective utilization of resources and the management of socialist property are directly manifested. The new quality of the brigade greatly increases the interest of the primary labor collective and upgrades its role in the entire social management system. The working staff accepts this great party initiative willingly and with understanding.

However, the creation of real brigades of a new type has proved to be a very complex matter. The difficulties and weaknesses are found above all in the application of cost effectiveness. The workers themselves are not being properly prepared for the system. The development of the new brigades is not based on properly formulated engineering plans. Production organization and management, based on the needs of the brigade, are being restructured very sluggishly. Major obstacles stand in the way of the development of essentially new relations between brigades and enterprise managements.

The brigade organization represents a merciless criticism of shortcomings in production organization and management. Such criticism does not stop at the level of the enterprise's management but runs along the entire chain from the economic organization and the ministry to the national economic complex. That is why the building of a brigade organization of a new type must not be considered in a limited way and the problem must not be limited to the enterprise alone. The entire management system, from top to bottom, must be adapted to its requirements.

The new brigade economic mechanism has been formulated and is being applied. The major problem now is to organize the entire structuring and work of the brigades of a new type on the basis of this mechanism.

Our obligations regarding the brigade organization follow several clear directions.

The trade union organs and organizations must focus their attention on the development of the brigades of a new type and, above all, on the application of internal cost effectiveness in them. This is both an economic and a political problem in the solution of which the trade unions must prove to the worker the new features and convince him to accept them through their organizational and educational activities. In close interaction with the economic management, they must make persistent efforts to develop the brigades while observing all elements and characteristics of this type of labor organization. this problem must be resolved by the end of 1982.

Another direction is for the trade unions to become the real direct organizers of the self-management of the brigade collective.

It is here, in the brigade, that production democracy finds its most direct manifestation. All workers participate in the management of brigade affairs. They are competent, for they deal with problems with which they are most familiar. They are active, for they have the real right and power to resolve problems. They are interested, for it is here that their interests and requirements are met. It is on this basis that the initiative and creativity in the implementation of the congress's resolutions must be developed.

This creates objective prerequisites for the trade union organs and organizations to make the general assembly, brigade council and production conference the full-bodied organs of production democracy and brigade self-management.

Another of our obligations is to act as an effective social force in promoting the change which must take place in relations between brigades and enterprise managements. If a brigade idles for reasons beyond its control and if it is not given the possibility of meeting its normed planned assignment, the damages and losses it suffers should be compensated by someone. When the brigade fails to fulfill its obligations, the stipulations of the economic mechanism must be applied most strictly. Any reciprocal forgiveness between brigades and economic managements means a distortion of the economic approach, depriving the brigade organization of its strength, and harming the interest of society and the collectives.

The new type brigade is a fertile field for trade union activities. When we say that today our work must be concentrated within the labor collective, we bear in mind above all the collective of the new type brigade. Here the functions of the trade unions become most realistic and specific and, something particularly important, here our ties with the workers become daily and direct. By using the levers of the economic approach and mechanism, we are given the opportunity to upgrade labor activeness within and through the brigade, to promote a new attitude toward socialist property, to create a strong labor discipline, and to shape relations of comradely cooperation, exigency and responsibility.

Obviously, the required changes in the statutes, structure, rights and functions of the trade unions in the brigades must be made quite rapidly. This must be done in such a way that, together with the new mechanism, trade union work in the brigades be organized on a new basis.

3. Intensification--A Matter of the Labor Collective

The 12th party congress made comprehensive intensification the main strategic direction in the development of the national economy and of all areas of social life. It is the only proper way for laying the material and technical foundations for a developed socialist society, for this foundation can be none other than the material and technical base on the level of the achievement of the scientific and technical revolution.

The intensification of the economy and the other areas and activities means mainly to apply comprehensive automation through the development of automated cybernetic systems, to decisively lower manual labor through comprehensive mechanization, and to turn into mass practice domestic and foreign leading experience.

Essentially, this is a tremendous project which cannot be accomplished without the general efforts of the working class, our scientific and technical intelligentsia and all working people.

That is why intensification today must assume a leading, a determining position in trade union activities.

The trade unions have great obligations in the area of the technical retooling of the production process and the use of mechanization and automation in order to ensure decisive improvements in working and living conditions and in resolving the social problems created by intensification.

First, we must undertake the training, organization and involvement of the broadest possible range of working people in the modernization and reconstruction of the production base. The idea that production retooling means no more than the choice, acquisition and installation of new equipment is narrow and wrong.

Intensification has its own aspect and specifics in each enterprise. That is why the ways and means for its implementation must be determined specifically and clearly. This 5-year plan, automation will affect a limited number of enterprises, mainly those whose importance to the national economy is decisive. The broadest possible comprehensive work on intensification today must be in the area of reducing manual labor through complex mechanization. In this case, the emphasis must be on intensification now, when annual, quarterly and even monthly programs for reducing manual labor and organizing a common front in the struggle against manual labor must be formulated for each enterprise and type of activity.

It is particularly important for the trade unions today, starting with the planning process, to make the introduction of technical progress a broad social assignment. Every collective must be clearly instructed both on the subject of the 5-year plan and its immediate tasks. The people will understand what they themselves must do in their own enterprise and their views and suggestions must be taken into consideration.

The movement of rationalizers and inventors, which is a tried means for the creative manifestation of the innovative technical thinking of the working people, could make a great contribution to production intensification. Its possibilities are confirmed by the fact that in the Seventh Five-Year Plan it saved the national economy more than 1.5 billion leva. The national program which we adopted stipulates that in the Eighth Five-Year Plan these results will be considerably greater. Realistically, there are even greater opportunities whose utilization will depend on the ability with which we will be able to link with and subordinate rationalization to the problems of intensification, mainly comprehensive mechanization and reduction of manual labor.

Second, the collectives must become active participants in the application process.

We have noted over a period of many years that application is the weakest link in the efforts to promote technical progress. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, a "no-man's land" exists between scientific development and practice. Recently, major steps were taken to surmount this weakness. A large number of engineering-application organizations were set up, the new economic mechanism was applied in science and new organizational methods are being used to link science with production. However, practical

experience indicates that this is insufficient. There is urgent need to involve the production collectives themselves in application work. To rely on specific units and specialists alone and wait for new developments miraculously to be implemented "from above" means failure to understand the scale and nature of the strategy of comprehensive intensification.

This offers broad scope for trade union initiative in expanding and strengthening the interaction, cooperation, mutual aid and reciprocal responsibility among scientific research, engineering-application units and production collectives.

Third, let us emphasize the decisive importance of cadre training and skill upgrading.

Today this problem assumes different dimensions. The existing disproportion between the technical level of output and the level of skills threatens the very implementation of the intensification strategy. Radical measures must be taken in this respect. In the very stage of designing and in the course of modernization and reconstruction the need for specialists and performing cadres for the individual enterprise must be defined. The training process must be organized in accordance with the requirements of the new equipment and technology. We must reach the type of training quality such that the people we are training can resolve intensification problems. Particular concern must be shown for training women and working youth.

Fourth. It is particularly important for the trade unions to consider comprehensive automation and mechanization and mass installation of new equipment a general means for resolving personal and production problems.

The modernization and reconstruction of the technical base is the best way leading to a decisive improvement in working conditions. It frequently happens in our practice that labor safety is considered after new and updated capacities have been set to work, as a result of which only halfway correcting measures can be taken with additional expenditures. Currently society is paying hundreds of millions of leva in compensation to disabled and victims of accidents and work-related illnesses and as compensation for harmful working conditions. This is indeed a very grave problem. A different approach is needed, such as to resolve problems of labor safety and conditions at the planning, updating and reconstruction stages.

Automation and mechanization are related to releasing, redirecting and retraining a considerable number of workers currently employed in traditional sectors, skills and specialties. This is a process which affects the fate of the people and their vital interests and which sometimes is rather painful. It demands of the trade unions great care and responsibility and concern for every individual, for technical progress under socialist conditions cannot be directed against man. It is precisely the opposite: we are striving toward it and working for its extensive utilization precisely for the good of the people.

Intensification opens a new area of action for the trade unions: to deal with the social aspects of scientific and technical progress. We must take our place and assume our responsibilities in this area.

4. Development of the Competition Under the New Circumstances

Under the conditions of intensification and the new economic approach, objective prerequisites are created for the further enrichment, intensification and expansion of the socialist competition.

The first main feature of the competition now is that it is an inseparable part of the comprehensive intensification and scientific and technical progress. Intensive development itself increases the creative nature and enhances the competition criteria. It intellectualizes the competition process. In turn, the competition offers tremendous opportunities for involving millions of working people in intensification. It accelerates its practical implementation and provides the best possible examples of new and progressive developments.

The task is for the lofty objectives formulated at the 12th congress to become the objectives and content of the competition. The problem today is not to compete for any lowering of outlays of energy, material or labor or any way of using production capacities but to formulate and resolve such problems from the viewpoint of global standards, of the best worldwide achievements. The only way to achieve this is through scientific and technical progress and new equipment and technology.

The competition must be directed toward the full utilization of intensive factors in the course of the formulation of engineering projects and counterplans and of individual and collective creative plans.

The second main feature of the competition is that it is developed on the basis of the economic approach, the new economic mechanism.

Today the collective and each one of its members is interested in working better, in reaching and outstripping leading achievements and making use of the best possible experience. The competition is now being given a more realistic economic foundation than ever before. It is only on this foundation, on the basis of the new principles of socialist management, that we can build, develop, organize and guide the competition today.

There is still a lack of understanding that the competition and the economic management mechanisms act like connected vessels, like an organic entity. Without their interpenetration the competition remains groundless or, as the saying goes, it is "great ado about nothing."

The third main feature of the competition is the decisive enhancement of its role in the mass application of leading experience.

The 12th party congress stipulated that together with science and technical progress, leading experience is a strategic task of our development, one of the main directions in intensification. This rests on solid ground. Leading experience is a typical intensifying factor which yields quick and high results with virtually no capital investments.

As we know, leading experience is born in the collectives and it is mainly in the course of the competitions that it turns into mass practice.

We must make a critical self-assessment of our work in this area. We must frankly admit that from the Central Council on down to the plant trade union committee and organization, work on leading experience has largely become prey to traditionalism. Is it not true that the central committees, okrug councils and trade union committees make greater efforts to create and publicize individual leading enterprises and frontranking workers

rather than organizing the mass dissemination of their experience through the competition? Is it not true that valuable accomplishments of individual collectives and people are left without a following for long periods of time?

We are not denying the unquestionably good results. The movement of labor frontiers is expanding and its contribution to the acceleration of progress is increasing. However, the current state of this work cannot meet the new party requirements. The time has come for work on leading experience to become state and economic policy and for the trade unions to be the direct social organizers of the implementation of this policy.

The fourth main feature of the competition is that it must develop among technologically related units and on the basis of the multiplication approach.

This is an exceptionally promising form of competition. It converts relations among management and technologically related units into relations among collectives. It involves social forces in surmounting management weaknesses and contradictions in the complex chain of production relations. It is a means in the hands of the trade unions of linking production both to science and to the market. This form of competition multiplies the effect of the entire chain of technical progress. Our experience proves that great possibilities of the competition among interrelated collectives and the need to expand it.

The fifth main characteristic of the competition is that it is focused on resolving the collectives' social and educational problems.

Tremendous possibilities exist in this area. In practice, however, the competition has not seriously entered these areas. It is hard to point out how the competition has helped to resolve important problems such as, for example, the production of consumer goods, increased consumer services, improvements in cafeteria catering, the development of auxiliary farms, improvements in plant life and labor conditions and safety, etc. How many new initiatives and what leading experience in the social area and in education are being studied and disseminated with a view to becoming mass practice? Yet such experience does exist. It is both harmful and useless to include one or another indicator in this area in the conditions for engaging in and reporting a comprehensive competition and thus consider that we have met our obligations. We must develop mass competition for the solution of social problems and, above all, competition for the production of the best possible consumer goods and high-grade services.

II. On the Implementation of the New Approach in Party Social Policy

The 12th party congress developed an expanded social program. It stipulated that our entire development must be directly subordinated to the tasks of upgrading the living standard of the people.

The congress's resolutions are organically with the party's economic and social policy. The comprehensive satisfaction of social requirements are made directly dependent on production results.

Comrade T. Zhivkov emphasized at the October national conference that the core of the problem of upgrading the living standard is for material, spiritual and social requirements to be met comprehensively, on the level of the working people's purchasing power.

These party stipulations determine the features of the party's social policy and shape the new approach to its implementation.

According to this approach, the real possibilities of the economy must be taken into consideration in the forming and utilization of social consumption funds. This requires a proper coordination between the growth rate of social consumption funds and the growth of the national income and of social labor productivity. This will intensify the effect of the principle of material incentive through wages. The use of social gains which are not in the nature of social assistance must be based above all on labor activeness and individual contribution to the implementation of the counterplans. The new approach encourages social activeness and introduces greater equity in the distribution of goods. It calls for decisive improvements in the economic and social effectiveness in the utilization of social consumption funds.

The trade unions are in charge of implementing a large percentage of the party's social policy, for which purpose they have at their disposal about one half of the social consumption funds. We are also participating in the formation and distribution of social funds in enterprises, establishments and organizations. This determines our great responsibility for the reorganization of our work in accordance with the new approach.

A characteristic feature of the new approach is that the solution of basic social problems is concentrated mainly within the labor collective and is accomplished with its own forces. This is of tremendous practical and ideological significance, for it is thus that social activities are organized on the broadest possible social base. The collectives have unsuspected great opportunities and reserves in terms of skilled people, technology, raw materials and funds. Never before have the trade unions had such broad scope for initiative and direct organizational work among collectives for the solution of vitally important problems such as the production of consumer goods, expansion of services, improving commercial services, cafeteria catering, food self-sufficiency, etc.

The collectives have particularly great possibilities of engaging in the additional production of consumer goods and services. Today the party has placed this major national task in the center of attention of our entire public and, after the Ruse conference, has engaged in comprehensive work in this area. Every enterprise, regardless of its basic activity, must produce goods and services whose worth is at least equivalent to the size of its wage fund.

The new approach in social policy has convincingly proved its advantages. Last year, more than 500 million leva's worth of goods were delivered to the trade system by consumer goods shops and auxiliary production facilities. Within a short time, the number of enterprise stores nearly doubled and is already exceeding 2,000. More than 1,500 service enterprises and a widespread network of reception centers have been created. Cafeteria food has improved. A total of 4,250 auxiliary farms were organized, which are now providing 60 percent of the meat consumed in the cafeterias. The real possibility exists that in the next 1 or 2 years, the self-sufficiency of the cafeterias and of plant stores for basic food products will be met entirely. Last year, the assets of the Social and Cultural Measures Fund reached about 600 million leva, as against 208 million leva in 1975, i.e., they almost tripled.

In December a national conference sponsored by the BPS Central Council and the Ministry of Internal Trade and Public Services was held in Lovech. A review of accomplishments was made and directions for future joint work among state, economic and social organs

and organizations were earmarked. It was pointed out that wherever collectives and managements had seriously and efficiently participated in this project, good results had been achieved. The trade unions must promote the view that the better the economic results, the higher will be the income, the more social funds will increase and the more funds will be allocated for social requirements. The logic in this case is clear. However, we must radically change the current practice of seeking funds for social requirements without taking fully into consideration the economic effectiveness of the production process.

The role and significance of plans for the social development of labor collectives become more important under the new conditions. Unfortunately, however, in many cases, they continue to be formulated on a self-seeking basis, unrelated to economic results and without the extensive participation of the collective and the study of its actual needs and requirements. Very frequently the local leading organs arbitrarily use the social and cultural measures fund for all kinds of purposes without asking the collectives.

Other vitally important areas in which our work is unsatisfactory exist, such as the construction of housing by the collectives, workers' health care, expansion of recreation facilities and social services at the enterprises.

We must clearly state that unlike the production area, where conditions for the development of the activeness of the collectives are created on a normative basis, in the social area major obstructions remain limiting their initiative. This situation must be changed rapidly so that the building of housing and of resting, health care and sports facilities, cultural clubs and children's homes with the forces of the departments themselves may be developed extensively.

We are seriously concerned by the scale of overtime and the passive attitude adopted by the trade unions in the observation of labor legislation.

It has become clear that the new approach in social policy extensively broadens our activities in this area, faces the trade unions with far stricter requirements and demands a major re-evaluation.

Several conclusions may be drawn.

Let us emphasize above all that many unused opportunities exist for every labor collective to implement a broad social program. What was accomplished within a short period of time proves that the direct social assignments we undertook to implement are entirely realistic and can be implemented even more successfully and everywhere.

Let us also remember that concern for production begins with concern for the people. Wherever social problems are properly resolved, there is good production and the collective is united. It is socially and politically active and can resolve difficult and complex problems.

The specific concern for man and for the satisfaction of his needs within the collective has direct ideological and educational impact. It enhances the person's feeling of being the owner of the socialist property and turns the enterprise into the worker's second home.

The prestige and influence of the trade union organs and organizations will greatly depend on their efforts to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of the working people.

III. On the Development of the Counterplan and the Organization of Its Implementation

The results achieved so far in the implementation of the 1981 trade union plan and pledges indicates that the Eighth Five-Year Plan is off to a good start. The plan is being overfulfilled for all basic indicators. In the first 11 months of last year, the profit plan was overfulfilled by 8.7 percent or the equivalent of 655 million leva. Social labor productivity outstripped the planned figure by 6.2 percent. Considerable quantities of important industrial and agricultural commodities and consumer goods were produced above the plan. Material outlays were reduced by 1.5 percent compared with the state plan.

These successes confirm the realism and accuracy of the party's policy. They are the result of the work developed within the labor collectives for the implementation of the decisions of the 12th party congress. However, we also have difficulties and major shortcomings. The problem of the shortage of fuels and of some raw materials is becoming particularly grave.

All this was discussed profoundly and quite responsibly at the party's central committee plenum and debated by the National Assembly, as a result of which the plan for socio-economic development in 1982 and the Eighth Five-Year Plan were adopted. They ensure the further enhancement of the living standard regardless of worsened conditions. Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out at the October national conference that our economy has real opportunities for meeting the indicators stipulated by the 12th congress. To this effect, through the counterplans we must achieve an average annual increase over and above the state plan as follows: 2-3 percent in the national income or net output; 3-4 percent increase in social labor productivity; a reduction in fuel, energy, raw material and material outlays by 2-3 percent; a profit increase of 1 billion leva; and additional production of consumer goods worth no less than 500 million leva.

This is the essence of the 5-year plan facing the government, the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the economic organizations and all labor collectives throughout the country. To this effect we must organize, promote and develop a nationwide socialist competition during the Eighth Five-Year Plan. Never before have we faced such a major and important task whose implementation must become our main objective, main ambition and main imperative.

The formulation of the counterplans for this year is already drawing to an end. Preliminary data indicate that thanks to the established organization and the new incentives, the main economic organizations and enterprises, okrugs and obshtinas are backing their counterplans with computations on the above-plan increase in the national income, social labor productivity and profits, reduction of fuel, raw material and material outlays and additional production of consumer goods. This is mainly the result of the far greater participation of workers and specialists in finding reserves, for which a certain credit can be taken by the trade union organs and organizations.

Naturally, this does not complete the work on counterplanning, for it is precisely this year that we must steadily expand and develop the counterplan, i.e., ensure the continuity of this process.

Labor collectives and economic and trade union managements are faced with the task of drafting their counterplans for the balance of the 5-year plan during the first 6 months of this year. What are the items to which we should pay particular attention?

First. We must ensure the far more active involvement of scientific research and engineering-application organizations in the formulation of engineering projects and counterplans. The current interaction between production and science is not consistent with intensification tasks. We must develop the practical and efficient coordination between scientific potential and workers initiative and economic management enterprise. The scientific research and engineering-application units must submit to the enterprises specific developments, suggestions and new solutions in the course of the formulation of the 5-year counterplans. They must be properly accepted and assessed by the enterprises so that obligations can be assumed and conditions for their fast implementation may be created.

Practical experience confirms that most of the expedient suggestions made by the workers remain unrealized as a result of the lack of technical solutions and economic substantiations. Under social control and with the help of the trade unions, any expedient suggestion formulated by the workers must be given an engineering solution and support.

The level of development reached by youth scientific and technical creativity must be strongly supported by the trade unions. The best possible conditions must be created for relating it to the work of scientific and application units and for developing it into a creative movement of all working people.

Second. The stipulation of the 12th congress according to which the counterplan must become the truly creative accomplishment of the labor collectives with the trade unions acting as the motive force in this process must be implemented even more fully. Bearing in mind these tremendous assignments and the new circumstances, there is no longer any place for the manifestation, although to a considerably lesser degree, of the practice according to which counterplans are drafted by a small circle of specialists with the formal participation of the workers. The new planning technology has already been in use for 4 years but we can still not say that the plan has become the creation of the collectives everywhere. This is due to a number of various reasons such as the instability of governmental assignments, the taking over of discovered reserves, unsteady and unreliable incentives, lack of coordination among indicators, insufficient availability of resources, etc.

Let us point out that we too are to be blamed, for we were unable to find the best approach for involving the people in counterplanning. We have not rejected the concept that the counterplan is no more than a moral obligation, a manifestation of goodwill; we have not discarded the inertia of appeals and formal pledges.

We are pointing out all of this to demonstrate that we are faced with a major and complex effort to surmount the adverse public opinion which has developed and the reservations shown by managements, specialists and working people concerning counterplanning.

The mechanism is now offering safe guarantees against the one-sided, arbitrary and groundless change of control figures and mandatory state assignments and the confiscation of reserves and enterprise income. The leading trade union organs must ensure effective public control over the observance of the accepted planning technology and the principles of the mechanism and struggle uncompromisingly against any attempt to

violate them. The trade unions must call for the strictest possible punishments of officials guilty of such violations. At the same time, we must draw proper conclusions regarding trade union officials who ignore and tolerate such violations.

We must develop effective interaction with the economic organs and assume equal responsibility with them in the development of the type of organization of the work in which every single worker and specialist can submit suggestions on the formulation of engineering projects and counterplans.

Third. In the course of counterplanning, we must direct the attention of the collectives to the particularly important and decisive problems facing our economy.

The most important problem today is that of fuel conservation. We must develop a radically new awareness and attitude toward the most thrifty utilization of each drop of fuel. The trade unions must become the organizers of a nationwide movement and develop a specific competition among collectives for maximum economy of fuel and energy and for the use of waste-free technology.

Decisive measures must be taken to ensure the full utilization of productive capital by converting to two- and three-shift work and 6- and 7-day use of equipment, maximum utilization of the effective working time and reaching planned capacity of new projects on time.

The production of consumer goods and services is a prime economic, social and political task. The trade unions must make a greater contribution to the conversion of this task into a national ambition. This offers infinite opportunities for specialists and workers to display their creativity and initiative.

Comrades:

We can see the tremendous tasks facing the Bulgarian Trade Unions in the struggle for the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th congress. Today all party, state, economic and social organs and organizations are engaged in practical work in the spirit of the stipulations formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the October national conference. This entire theoretical, practical, organizational and educational work is focused on the labor collectives, which are becoming the center of major changes and an important factor in the implementation of the congress's resolutions. However, the implementation of the tasks of managing, controlling and guiding in accordance with the principles of the new economic approach and mechanism, the development of democracy, ensuring production intensification, decisively changing the organization of the work through the brigades of a new type, and the close linking between social development and effectiveness call for profound changes and improvements in all trade union activities and in the style, methods and forms of our work. Our major main responsibility today is, under the party's guidance, and together with state and economic organs to raise the collective to the level of the new status in which it is effectively placed by the decisions of the 12th party congress.

When we ask ourselves a question of whether our work is effective, we must look for the answer in the changes which have been made and in the specific results of our work in the collectives. When we consider the qualities of a trade union official, we must assess them on the basis of his understanding of the policy, means and mechanisms formulated by the party and his ability to handle the new problems, work with the people,

teach them, convince them, lead them, and energize them. Such is now the criterion for cadre evaluation. This means to be a competent and efficient organizer and serve the vital interests of the working person.

On the basis of these criteria, we must take a different look at the selection and training of trade union cadres. The present means for training cannot supply us with cadres able to resolve the new problems.

To do our work well today means to make every working person aware of the party's policy, to encourage and develop his initiative, and to make him a politically convinced and active worker for this policy.

The proper circumstances for this have been created. They are the result of the tremendous political and organizational work done by the party and its central committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the party's general secretary. Our accountability and election campaign proved that the working people correctly understand the congress's resolutions and are expressing their emphatic willingness to ensure their practical implementation.

Three months separate us from the Ninth Trade Union Congress. This must be a period of change in the people's way of thinking and acting, a time of labor upsurge and efforts, of achievements and specific results. This will be the strongest manifestation of the universal approval and full support with which the working class, the farm workers, the socialist intelligentsia and the entire 4 million-strong trade union organization in our country welcomed the decisions of the congress.

The implementation of the tasks which we formulate at this plenum must give the shape of the overall preparations for the forthcoming trade union congress. This will also be the best answer to the party's slogan "action, action and only action."

Speakers on the report included Comrades Angel Luchkov, trade union committee chairman at the Kremikovtsi Economic Metallurgical Combine and Hero of Socialist Labor, Valentin Gurvanov, chairman of the Blagoevgrad Okrug BPS Council, Mariya Garibaldi, trade union committee chairman at the Khidravluka combine in Kazanluk, Petur Tsekov, chairman of the Trade Union of Trade and Services Workers Central Committee, and Hero of Socialist Labor Ivan Ivanov, brigade leader at the Balkan Machine-Building Combine in Lovech.

Following the debates, the plenum passed the following resolution on Item 1 of the agenda:

The BPS Central Council plenum accepts the report submitted by Comrade Petur Dyulgerov as a basis for the entire practical work of the Bulgarian Trade Unions on the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress and the preparations for the Ninth Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions.

A separately published resolution was passed on the motion of the Central Council Bureau on the date for holding the Ninth BPS Congress.

The participants in the plenum approved the draft budget and table of organization of the Bulgarian Trade Unions for 1982.

In the afternoon, a plenum was held of the Central Auditing Commission of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. Geroy Budinov, deputy chairman of the Central Auditing Commission, spoke on the current activities and role of the Central Auditing Commission in the preparations for the Ninth BPS Congress, which was discussed at the plenum.

Date Set for the Ninth Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions

Resolution of the 17th BPS Central Council Plenum

I. The Ninth Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions will convene on 8 April 1982 with the following agenda:

1. Report of the BPS Central Council on the period between the eighth and ninth congresses and the forthcoming tasks of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

Reporter: Comrade Petur Dyulgerov.

2. Report of the BPS Central Auditing Commission.

Reporter: Comrade Penka Dodunekova, Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Auditing Commission chairman.

3. Elections of the Central Council and Central Auditing Commission of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

II. The representation norm and method of election of congress delegates shall be as follows:

1. One delegate per 1,410 trade union members.

2. One half of the delegates will be elected at congresses of sectorial trade unions; the other half will be elected at accountability and election conferences of okrug trade union organizations by secret vote.

5003

CSO: 2200/50

STATE, CHURCH APPROACHES TO LUTHER LEGACY CONTRASTED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 17-18 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by "R.M." datelined Wittenberg, January: "The GDR as the Trustee of Martin Luther's Legacy--From 'Princes' Servant' to 'Pioneer of the Revolution.'" Translation of an East Berlin EINHEIT article and a West German commentary on this subject are published under the heading: "Luther's Legacy Accepted for 'Socialist German National Culture,'" in JPRS 79591, 4 Dec 81, No 1948 of this series, pp 16-39]

[Excerpt] Anniversary Year 1983

Rather intensive renovation work is done in Wittenberg, and several venerable buildings there need this very much. At the great round tower of the Palace Church, e.g., a frieze consisting of hundreds of thousands of mosaic stones is being repaired so that soon Luther's hymn "A mighty fortress is our God, god armor and good weapon" will again appear in its old splendor. The tourist guide does not fail to point out that the government pays for the renovation work. It is part of the preparations for the 500th anniversary of Luther's birthday in 1983 which is to be celebrated in the GDR with much pomp and for which considerably more than 100,000 visitors from abroad are expected. In addition to Wittenberg, festivities are also planned for that year at other sites of Luther's life, especially in Eisleben where he was born, at the Wartburg, in Erfurt, Weimar and Leipzig.

The GDR does not want to stand at the sidelines during the Luther year--on the contrary, it has already taken a very active and prominent part in the preparation phase. Nothing could have made this more obvious than the official establishment, already in June 1980, of a national Martin Luther Committee. This high-level committee is headed by none less than GDR State Council Chairman and SED Chief Erich Honecker and with him several leading members of the GDR cultural and scientific establishment. This broad government commitment to the anniversary of 1983 reflects a considerable change in the official Luther image of the GDR.

Changed Appraisal

For a long time, the church reformer was not valued too highly among GDR ideologists. Because of his negative attitude toward the rebels during the German Peasants' War Luther was described, especially in school books, as the "servant of princes." This negative and derogatory characterization outweighed by far certain positive

aspects of Luther's life such as the cultural importance of his Bible translation or his fight against feudal papacy. As the real hero of the reformation era was described Luther's contemporary and sometime rival Thomas Muentzer, who as a Protestant theologian had unequivocally taken the side of the peasant revolutionaries and had therefore been beheaded after cruel torture.

In 1967, during the 450th anniversary of the publication of the 95 Theses in Wittenberg, the official Luther image of the GDR changed slightly for the better, but his "betrayal of the revolutionary struggle of the peasants" remained as before a decisive characterization of his personality. No such harsh judgements were heard, however, in the official speeches on the occasion of the establishment of the national Luther Committee a year and a half ago. Instead, SED Chief Honecker praised the reformer as "one of the greatest sons of Germany" and "one of the most important humanists whose efforts were directed toward a more just world." "We may say," Honecker continued, "that our fatherland, the German Democratic Republic, has absorbed this precious heritage." In regard to Luther's position during the Peasants' War, the SED chairman now passed the exceedingly mild judgement that the reformer's tragedy consisted in the fact that "he failed to recognize the difference between his role as initiator of a large revolutionary movement and the social inevitability of this movement." The GDR historian Horst Barthel had on the same occasion no difficulties in describing the church reformer as a forerunner of socialism. "To Martin Luther belongs a prominent place in the progressive traditions of Germany history which, accepted by the working class and the entire population, were continued under new conditions and culminated in the victory of Socialism in the GDR."

Caution Among Church Representatives

In view of the strenuous efforts by the GDR leadership to adopt Luther and his spiritual heritage for official state ideology and identity, Protestant church representatives were polite but clearly kept their distance during the meeting establishing the national Luther Committee in which they have only a consulting function. In his speech, which followed immediately that of Honecker, Protestant Bishop Werner Leich, chairman of a church Luther Committee and speaking for the bishops of the GDR district churches, clearly opposed the new one-sided marxist-revolutionary characterization of the reformer. He emphasized that Luther would simply not exist without the church whose loyal son he always considered himself. It is important to recall, especially in view of the anniversary year 1983, that the reformer "wanted to confess nobody but the Lord Jesus Christ alone." Therefore, the Protestant bishop stated before the prominent government functionaries assembled, there can be no doubt that the church Luther Committee will "follow its own road," different from that of the national committee, which on the other hand would not exclude mutual respect "for each other's approach" as well as a certain factual cooperation.

The Protestant churches in the GDR especially in most recent times have continued with impressive determination along this difficult course between their readiness for limited cooperation with Communist state authorities on the one hand and their commitment to different interests on the other.

The open advocacy by several Protestant synods of the official establishment of a "civilian peace service" as an alternative to compulsory military service in the GDR seems to have found widespread sympathy especially among the youth of the country. The East Berlin government, however, has sharply rejected this request by pointing out especially that the military strength of Socialism automatically constitutes active service to peace, and also that there exists in the GDR the possibility of a substitute military service without weapons in the ranks of the military construction units.

So far the GDR leadership has avoided a direct confrontation with the churches over this question--perhaps also in order to forestall negative reactions to its heterogeneous "peace movement" in the West which for obvious reasons is widely applauded and strongly supported in the Eastern Bloc. The fact that the East Berlin leaders have so far dealt rather mildly with the churches in spite of their surprisingly open criticism of the Socialist kind of militarism could also have a certain relation to the impending important Luther anniversary. A ruthless disagreement with the church successors of the reformer would have to cast serious doubts on the success of the expensive celebration of the 500th birthday of Wittenberg's Theses publisher from which the SED obviously hopes to gain important prestige advantages.

8889

CSO: 2300/103

VIOLATION OF GOVERNMENT-SOLIDARITY AGREEMENTS DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by Stanislaw Reperowicz: "Who Broke the Understandings: In Defense of Poland's Chance"]

[Text] More than 15 months ago and after several 100 days of heated negotiations in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie, agreements were signed between government commissions and strike committees. The protocols contained a broad program of social and economic changes in which the authorities committed themselves to implement by a definite date. In order to elevate the importance of these documents, the Central Committee of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] accepted for confirmation, a day earlier than scheduled, the reports of government commissions from the talks that had been conducted. The world press assessed this event as the party's agreement with the reforms proposed by the workers.

But the other side, i.e., the new union movement, had taken upon itself definite responsibilities to the government. These concerned, first of all, the most important principles of our reality: respect for the Constitution of the PRL [Polish People's Republic], recognizing the leading role of the PZPR Polish United Workers Party in the State, and refrainment from impairing the existing system of international alliances. Furthermore, the agreement stated that new unions stood on the principle of social ownership of the means of production, as the basis for the existing socialist form of government in Poland, and did not intend to fulfill a political role in the party.

The signing of these agreements was accompanied by a great deal of enthusiasm and a belief in the possibility of improving the living conditions for most people in society. Red and white flags fluttered in the breeze, the national anthem was sung, union leaders rubbed elbows with government members and stressed that they were talking "as one Pole to another." Many journalists wrote at the time that we were witnesses of an event which history would record in golden pages in the annals of the Polish nation. They emphasized that we ought to take part in the creation of our new models for resolving social conflicts, models that only future generations of Poles should learn from but other peoples of the world as well.

Today, after almost 500 days, little remains of that atmosphere. We are comparatively worse off than we were before August 1980. And this is not only because it is more and more difficult to buy basic food items or other necessary commodities. Interpersonal relationships have been tragically eroded. Escalation of provocation of an anti-socialist nature has divided the inhabitants of our country into many antagonistic groups. Today, differences and divisions are fragmenting not only the workforce at plants but their families as well. Tired people waiting in lines regard the future with fear and ask themselves the question: When will there be a period of peace and when will we be able to live normally again?

The question arises: Why have the beautiful prospects of last August gone to hell so quickly? There is no doubt, even now a year and a half later, that our country has been immersed in a crisis. It could have been possible to stop this process, provided the signed agreements had been respected. What was needed would have been great joint efforts, productive work in an atmosphere of calm. And what happened?

With the greatest earnestness, the authorities began to incorporate into life the signed agreements. The Council of State came out with a resolution making it possible for new trade unions to register. A lot of personnel changes were made in party and state management organs in voivodships, towns and gminas. It dealt with utmost severity with those people who had misused their trust or position. The Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK) and other organs of prosecution started thousands of investigations and inquiries into the matter of private use of common property. This painful operation of self-purgation attested to the sincerity of the intentions of the party and the authorities.

At the same time a series of legal instruments were issued which broadened the principles of democracy and strengthened law and order. These legal instruments were directed at economic reform and preparations for new laws to regulate many principal areas of public life, for example: education, health service, pensions and retirement benefits, censorship, trade union activity, the penitentiary system, and a complex of questions dealing with agriculture and the like. The authorities were also compelled to work out supply problems and initiate a system for the sale of rationed basic necessities.

Tasks of this magnitude could not be put in order by means of decrees worked out in the course of a single night. One may argue whether these tasks had not become too big to handle for the people who were supposed to resolve them. One may doubt whether these people had acted with enough speed and determination; and whether they had managed to work and think with any great precision in a highly emotional atmosphere filled with accusations and chaos. To be sure, not everyone was able to cope with his responsibilities, which is attested by the basic personnel changes in various state and party positions, including positions at the very top.

Being aware of the vast complexity of the tasks confronting the country, the party, having signed the agreement, turned to the whole society for help to pull the country out of the crisis. The workforce of numerous plants took up the plea and proceeded to make up for production delays. Parallel with this,

there appeared abroad various opposition activist publications from Poland that stated unequivocally that the agreements should be treated merely as a trampoline for launching further demands aimed at basically changing the political structure in Poland.

The authors of these papers travelled about the country calling mass public meetings during which they attacked authority and the party; then sharing their "experience," they helped to organize a series of strikes.

There were different reasons for these strikes. Sometimes, they were actually the results of errors made by local authorities. There were also cases where there was a strike over an issue that had already been settled.

New agreements are emerging under pressure. There are hundreds of them. No wonder that even some of the leaders of "Solidarity" would say later that it was necessary to reap all of these agreements and bring them into concrete existence. But this turned out to be just words.

The strikes have had their impact on [our] sick economy which has been operating less and less efficiently; industrial production has been decreasing, the quality of the work of trade and services has been diminishing. The party has proposed maximum union cooperation, having as its goal the improvement of management efficiency. The offer has not been accepted. Every government proposal is criticized and discarded anyway. Every initiative that is aimed at getting out of the crisis is blocked. The union, which is committed to "defending the social and material interests of its employees," does not want to cooperate in the creation of the material bases for accomplishing this. The interests of the working man have been subordinated to the political ambitions of the union leaders. In an atmosphere of total criticism, social order has been disturbed. First, this has occurred in plants where industrial branch directors or leaders, who are in an awkward position, are victimized. With time disturbances spread to the streets. The militia which has to maintain law and order is attacked. The security service and state and party apparatus are attacked. Attacks on soldiers have been noted.

Gen W. Jaruzelski is the head of government. His nomination has been very warmly received by society. The new premier has spoken in the Sejm on the will of the government to continue the policy of social understanding and he has stressed that the realization of the agreements of August, 1980 is possible only under conditions of calm and honest labor. He has returned with his appeal for 90 days without strikes and disturbances which is indispensable to work out a program to alleviate the crisis. Unfortunately, neither request has been met. Instead, there has been a marked increase in anti-socialist aggressiveness on the part of the leaders in some branches of "Solidarity." New hot spots have been created. At times factories stand idle without any reason in entire voivodships. One reaches for a strike as though he were reaching for a box of matches.

The 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR has proclaimed the continuation of the policy of renewal and calls for the creation of a National Conciliation Front (FIN). Gen W. Jaruzelski remains the first secretary of the PZPR meets with the Primate or the chairman of "Solidarity." For the first time in 500 days, Poland has begun to have hope for a way out of the crisis. A hope it almost lost several hours after the publication of the announcement of the talks as a result of a new sharp turn in the course taken by the leaders of "Solidarity."

Recently "TRUBUNA LUDU" published a comprehensive document prepared by the PAP containing a list of strikes and other disturbances which disrupted social order for over a month. This list came out with the meeting with the three sides, i.e., the Church, the Union and the government. It makes shocking reading. It is a pity that other means of mass media did not publish it too. Perhaps, information contained in it would have had a sobering effect on a lot of people.

The state of emergency, which is a departure from normal peace time conditions, has lasted for over a year in Poland. It is a state in which millions of people feel threatened; moreover, this threat is growing and encompasses broader and broader areas of society. One could put it this way: it was not the government, however, but the leaders of "Solidarity" who introduced this state of emergency in Poland with their resolutions, pronouncements and practical activity.

Numerous elements of psychological warfare have been introduced. First of all, by means of leaflets, tabloids, brochures, and slogans written on walls and sidewalks and the like. This is a war with socialism and the party, with everyone who is against the realization of a scenario that foresees the overthrow of the people's authority in Poland. Statements expressing the need for "Solidarity" to organize their own fighting squads have been intensifying, and so have been the attempts to dislodge the PZPR from plants. Industrial branch leaders have been carted out in wheelbarrows. Finally, people have been physically threatened for trying to write slogans of dubious content on walls.

Agression escalated. There were attempts made at inciting those areas where calm still prevailed. For example, several days ago, "Solidarity" emissaries from the Gdansk Shipyards paid a visit to the Silesian plants. At organized public mass meetings they called for the torpedoing of National Conciliation, for a more determined struggle with the party and government, and for taking over authority in plants and the like.

It is worth taking a closer look at the people who are sowing the seeds of discontent and who are supposedly acting in the behalf of the interests of the working class. How many of them actually have right to speak for them. Where have they worked up till now and for how long? Why do they speak so lightly of the sacrifices that will have to be endured in these fratricidal battles? Where is the boundary between psychopathological aberration, the loss of reason and crime. Who is the author of this scenario they have propagated that assumes Pole will not cooperate with Pole but he will fight with him.

Everyone must have his own answer to these and other questions. Likewise, these questions cannot be avoided by the government of the Polish People's Republic which has the duty to look after the national life of Poles and cannot allow this life to be threatened both by internal and external factors.

The party's main line of action during these 500 days was and will continue to remain the strategy of National Conciliation. This continues to be our main chance, Poland's main chance.

NZS POLITICAL AMBITIONS ATTACKED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Zenon Skuza]

[Text] At the beginning of the academic year 1980-1982 there began to come into existence, first in Gdansk, Warsaw, Krakow, Lodz, Poznan and then in other academic centers, the first academic organizations of the Independent Association of Students (NZS).

The creation of the NZS was brought about by several causes: the events of August and the creation of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity (NSZZ); the erroneous decision of the authorities to merge the three organizations functioning in the academic environment--ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth], ZMW [Rural Youth Union] and ZSP [Polish Student Association]--into a single environmental ideological-political and trade union organization--SZSP; the weakness of the newly formed organization, consisting of the lack of an attractive program both in the ideological and political area and in trade unionism.

The social tensions that arose after June 1976 were conducive to the activation of the rightist forces in the sphere of influence of the KOR [Committee for the Defense of the Workers] and ROPCIO [the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights]. The activation of these forces and the increase of their actual importance had caused in many academic communities (for example, in Krakow) dissenting tendencies and even attempts at forming the new student organization (Academic Renewal Movement [ARO]).

Events After August

The situation in the higher educational institutions is undergoing a radical change. The SZSP conducts a persistent struggle for reform of the education system, a change in the course of studies and autonomy of schools. And even though the ministry takes a sympathetic attitude toward demands and applications submitted by the organization, the academic community must wait too long. Meanwhile the students increase their activity. They desire to make their mark in the processes of the struggle for a renewal of life in Poland. Thus, various ideas, conceptions and programs grow up like mushrooms in the academic community.

The enlivenment of the academic community is being sedulously exploited by the former leaders of SKS [Students' Solidarity Committee], KOR and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] by securing and consolidating their influence in some

academic communities (Warsaw, Krakow, Lodz, Poznan and Gdansk). In many cases their groundwork is facilitated by the junior scientific workers who espouse the ideology of KOR or sympathize with the program of KSS "KOR" [Committee of Social Self-Defense "KOR"]. This part of academic youth who espouse the KOR ideology greatly approves the ultraradical programs of action of the extremists in the leadership of the NSZZ Solidarity, as well as the forms of pressure on the authorities and often of fights against authorities, used or favored by them.

Under these circumstances a highly favorable climate is being created for the creation and development of the NZS. The new students' organization, just as the NSZZ Solidarity, thought of as independent and self-governing, seems to be trustworthy. Its program of action and its aims seem to bear all the traits and stamp of being developed by the students themselves. Nevertheless, despite this favorable climate and beginning the NZS did not become a mass organization. The enrollment proceeds slowly and with resistance.

The NZS leadership makes great efforts to consolidate its influence in the academic community. It initiates many spectacular actions aimed at gaining new members and gaining confidence of the students. It duplicates experience verified in practice by the NSZZ Solidarity.

The first such action is the December strike of the Warsaw University and Adam Mickiewicz University (UAM) Poznan students, organized under the watchword of a fight for the registration of the union.

Did this strike, in the light of facts, have any rational justification? It did not by any means. The ministry consented to a registration of the union. It did not receive, however, the awaited official application and a draft of the organization's statute. On the other hand, the National Founding Committee was conducting a parallel action for registration of the union at the Voivodship Court in Warsaw as a professional union of students. The action of the committee was not stopped even when the framework of a new executive order of the minister determining the grounds for the union's registration was agreed.

Why then was a strike carried out? What was negotiated? They negotiated what was already being implemented; they gained what even without negotiation would have become fact. The strike was declared only for the purpose of convincing the students that as its result the ministerial order was issued thanks to the NZS, and in the case of the Lodz strike, that it was under its pressure that the union's registration was carried out.

In the course of December negotiations the NZS assumed the obligation to submit a list of demands to the ministry. And yet it was not submitted. Why was it not?

Was this dodge to serve as a pretext for the next strikes? The pretext for them was already there. One could assert that the ministry keeps silent and does not implement the union's demands. This was fully confirmed by the subsequent events, even though the next strike (in the spring in Lodz) had been organized apparently under different watchwords; namely, of the fight for autonomy and self-government of the school.

After 4 days of talks in Lodz the watchwords of autonomy and "self-government" were replaced by comprehensive political demands; the problems of autonomy and self-government have already been taken up by the ministry.

The emergence of the completely new demands of a comprehensive political character, concerning political prisoners, teaching of sociopolitical subjects, obligatory inclusion of the Russian language in the curriculum, the military training and military service of the students, and the permanent passports for the NZS leaders, was highly symptomatic. It uncovered unmistakably the character and the aims of the strike.

There is no room for doubt as to the genesis of the change in watchwords and demands for which the students' strike in Lodz was organized. The change took place when its course began to be steered behind the scenes by the "advisers" of Solidarity, enlisted chiefly from the KSS "KOR." This change proved that the NZS in a more and more obvious manner began to deviate from the tenor of its ideological declaration and statute proclaiming the association as a nonpolitical community organization.

The presence of advisers outside the academic community throughout the talks and during the strike action also shows unmistakably that an allegedly spontaneous protest action of the students, its chief watchwords and aims, and the line-of-conduct tactics, have been elaborated outside the academic community and then skillfully transmitted to that community. That was yet another attempt at exerting pressure on governmental authorities, an integral element of the strategy of the fight against legal authorities. The line of conduct adopted by the NZS was also intended to make it difficult for authorities (and did it remarkably well) the conduct of negotiations and to generate a wave of Solidarity strikes in other academic communities and also in work places, as well as among the teaching cadre.

Also at variance with the principles of democracy was the method to proclaim the strikes (as a rule the minority did decide on the access of the school to a strike). That is not the first, not an isolated and probably not the last departure of the defenders of democracy from its fundamental principles. But that is a separate question.

Undeniably these spectacular actions strengthened the position of the NZS in the academic community. Thanks to them the NZS has become, in the consciousness of groups of students, especially those less aware, a real representative of the interests of the academic community in Poland. This weakened the position of the SZSP, and contributed to a conviction that the authorities treat youth and its demands seriously only under pressure. These spectacular actions have further aggravated and destabilized the situation in the higher educational institutions. On the other hand they have won support of the regional cells of the Solidarity.

The NZS has decided to resort more and more frequently to a well-tried procedure. It has organized, among others, an action for the sake of persons imprisoned for their political convictions, calling for the creation of a National Committee for the Defense of Persons Persecuted for Their Convictions, and initiated the action for the defense of the KPN and support for the Rural Solidarity.

The progress of events has confirmed the thesis that where the influence of many former leaders of the SKS or KSS "KOR" was the greatest, we were faced with the greatest radicalism of programs and demands of the NZS. There too, the action program of the association decidedly deviated from the substance of activity stipulated in the statute and ideological declaration.

Character of Organization

This character, as well as the aims and program of activity of the NZS, could be, and were, the unknown quantity during the first months of this organization. The first congress held in Krakow 3-6 April 1981 dispelled any illusions as to its character. The content of the adopted resolutions and votes clearly shows that contrary to previous declarations of its nonpolitical character the NZS is a political student organization.

The problems connected with union affairs were given little consideration at the congress. The whole attention was concentrated on political problems. Aggressive words of malicious criticism were uttered against authorities and the PZPR. Voices were heard that NZS can put forward its own political program in opposition to programs of the [Communist] Party and [government-sponsored] political parties. Highly praised was, for example, activity of the Student Committee for the Defense of Persons Persecuted for Their Convictions. The congress has also adopted a resolution obligating all members to implement a nationwide protest action for the sake of imprisoned members of the KPN.

The delegates had also fully approved the actions and conceptions of the activities of a provocative character. Such is the objective meaning, contrary to what is being asserted by the NZS leaders, of the sessions devoted, for example, to the anniversary of Katyn, organized in Warsaw, Lodz and Poznan, and of the exhibition of independent publications, including the photos illustrating the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. Of an obvious provocative character was the involvement of NZS in the defense of the KPN, despite disapproval of the senates of universities, of the Episcopate and even of a part of the leadership of Solidarity.

The NZS is not a unified organization. There are different factions in it. Depending on what faction prevailed in this or other school, in that or other center, this and not other character had both the initiatives and the activity of organizations. This does not mean in any way that all the members of the organization share the attitude of the leadership of the association. On the contrary, more and more often we encounter criticism of the attitude and aspirations of those leaders who would like to see the NZS as a political organization, in opposition to the [Communist] Party and [government-sponsored] political parties and who tend to confrontation with authorities. The thesis concerning activities in the NZS National Coordination Committee (KKK), of the so-called radicals, exhorting confrontation with the authorities, was once more confirmed by their calls for a nationwide general strike and for subordination of NZS members to decisions of the regional boards of the NSZZ Solidarity, which consider martial law as "the gravest crime of the authorities against the nation." "We do not recognize martial law," they say, "for society does not wage war against anyone." The action speaks for itself.

More and more often the NZS members are asking themselves whether the formula imposed by the KKK organization truly corresponds to the aspirations of the academic community and whether it is in agreement with the statute of that organization.

The most radical wing of the NZS situated in Warsaw is gambling on a confrontation with authorities. A more moderate faction of Krakow is in favor of the understanding with school authorities, the school committee of PZPR and the SZSP.

Experience proved that the number of the NZS members in favor of understanding and cooperation is increasing steadily. One may therefore assume that the influence of this majority will grow stronger in individual communities and that this line of conduct will prevail over bellicose endeavors of the members of the KKK leadership.

The Window-Dressing Activity

This is characteristic of the NZS and permits the organization an effective gain of the "mastery of souls" in the academic community. Here too reside motivation premises for the exposed thesis that the NZS must systematically battle for its existence in the higher schools.

Those spectacular actions are to fulfill the function, and actually fulfill it, of a magnet that attracts to the organization, as well as that of a factor that "inspires the espousal of such actions.

Problems of the didactic process, of the course of studies, are almost completely alien to the NZS. Also the social problems of the students, scientific and cultural activity, connected inseparably with the student movement, despite watchwords, recede into the background.

The NZS is also almost alien to employment problems of the graduates. This fact is of a special importance. In the era of implementation of self-government of the higher schools, in Poland the problems of the fate of graduates must be one of the important questions in the programs of activities of student organizations.

The international activity of the NZS has also confirmed political aspirations of the organization. It is aimed at the International Union of Students. The association looks for partners for a dialogue among organizations representing both leftist (Trotskyite) and extreme rightist programs with which the Polish youth movement maintained no contacts.

The NZS leaders were especially active at the so-called Paris Conference in June 1981. The NZS delegation, among other things, proposed a new International Student Organization (ISA), aimed against the International Union of Students (MIS). This idea was met with disapproval by all student organizations of importance in the world, even student organizations of the Western states, which do not belong to the International Union of Students.

Is the initiative of holding in Poland a founding congress of the new organization, which was proposed by the Wroclaw leaders, to be treated (can be treated) as an unimportant expression of juvenile swagger? Or is it to be (and should be) treated as a fully conscious choice, the choice of a political platform and partners?

A New Attempt

The NZS did announce the holding of a next congress. Work was in progress on a change of the statute of the organization. Many members of its leadership made efforts to transform it from a community organization into a political one, whose activity would exceed the framework of the school, so that the organization might carry out its disapproval of policy of the party and demand essential changes in the constitution, especially elimination of the entry on the party's leading role and the introduction of a free play of political forces. Not being able to justify oneself by achievements--for there are none--in a strictly union activity, the NZS has embarked on yet another spectacular action against the background of a conflict in the WSI [Higher School of Engineering] and the law on higher schools, desiring to present a brilliant figure in public opinion, as the only force fighting for a new higher school status, a new student status and a new scientific worker status in the Polish People's Republic (PRL).

1015

CSO: 2600/137

POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY HISTORY, ANNIVERSARY NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 pp 3, 4

[Article by Norbert Michta: "On the Anniversary of the Congress--From Division to Unity"]

[Text] The Polish worker's movement, which split into two trends in the beginning of the century, went through a period of more than half a century of controversy, gradual convergence and repeated divergence, in order to unite into one party in December 1948.

The historical process of the Polish worker's movement from division to unification was a reflection of phenomena within the working class of many European countries, processes of breaking into reformist and revolutionary trends. However, it also was powerfully colored by peculiarities of its activities in a territory that for many decades had been under foreign control. This has bolstered the importance of the national issue. The peasant issue also played a particular role due to the socio-professional structure of the population and the scarcity of land for the rural masses, with the domination of large landlord estates.

The Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL) made class and international workers' movement goals the cornerstone of its platform, whereas the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) considered the slogan of struggle for national liberation the first priority without determining and defining in a more precise fashion the political goals or gaining power by the working class. Certainly, describing the views of both parties in a static fashion would not be true. The attempts to reconsider the program and tactical line with an eye to combining the class goals with striving for independence and the goals of international workers' movement with the national interests, came about in the two parties at different moments and with unequal strength.

World War I and its consequences--primarily political, especially the toppling of tsarism and the October Revolution in Russia--made the issue of independence for Poland an international problem and made it the order of the day.

Simultaneously, it posed the problem of a power struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class in Polish lands, as well under the direct influence of social upheaval in Bulgaria, Austria and Hungary and the November 1918 revolution in Germany. The SDKPiL and the PPS-Left, fascinated by the very close, apparently inevitable proletarian revolution--at least, in Europe if not in the entire world--underestimated

the common striving for the creation of the independent sovereign Polish state. The PPS, obsessed with the rebirth of independent existence of Poland, was satisfied with partial achievements for the cause of the working people, while opposing the revolutionary slogan of the Councils of Workers' Delegates taking all power.

Sixty years ago, this divided, quarreling and disturbed workers' movement could not create the conditions and strong foundations for deeply democratic transformations in the emerging Polish state. These circumstances were used by the bourgeoisie to dislodge the workers' movement from the position of offense and win the struggle for power.

The Communist Workers' Party of Poland (KPRP) learned the lessons of the defeat of revolutionary and democratic forces in 1918-1919 and began to modify its program incorporating in it the struggle for democratic freedoms, the parcelling of large estate lands among hired agricultural workers and peasants, the emancipation of national minorities and secularization of education. In August 1923, the KPRP addressed the working people of urban and rural areas as well as the PPS and the Polish Peasants' Party "Liberation" (PSL "Wyzwolenie") with a proposal to establish a united front in the struggle for the worker-peasant government. The second Congress of the Communist Party was decisive in turning away from rigid views and in formulating political goals and working out tactics adequate to the internal and external environment. A principal contribution to the new party line on the nationality and peasant issues was made by A. Warski, M. Koszutska-Wera Kostorzewa, T. Dabal and others.

Unfortunately, in the next years, a retardation of views in the Communist Party of Poland manifested itself; prolonged faction controversy came about, considerably weakening the party. The PPS had its share of internal frictions and divisions as well. In June 1926, a segment of the party functionaries of the PPS constituted themselves as the PPS-Left. Two years later, the PPS-Former Revolutionary Faction with pro-Pilmudski sympathies was formed, with Jaworowski as its head.

In 1934, in the face of a growing threat to peace by increasing fascist forces, the Communist International began to promote the idea of unified workers' front, of a wide union of the working masses; in July 1935, at the seventh congress it called for unity in action of the working class in both national and international scope. The slogan of the united workers' front enjoyed the support of Polish Communists and a segment of the PPS functionaries, especially after the conclusion of the non-aggression treaty between Poland and Germany in 1934. The April constitution promulgated 1 year later and an antidemocratic election procedure that considerably limited the rights of the working people became the prerequisites for bringing the two parties closer together. As an expression of this, an agreement was signed to temporarily cease mutual attacks. Such functionaries of the PPS as N. Barlicki, S. Dubois and I. Hochfeld spoke in favor of the united front with communists at the time. Further efforts at establishing such a front were interrupted by the dissolution of the KPP in 1938.

In the absence of their own party, Polish Communists started forming revolutionary groups and antifascist organizations as early as the first years of [German] occupation, often with radical Peasant Party members and the PPS functionaries adhering to the idea of unified front. A segment of the latter found themselves in opposition to the pro-London [government in exile] WIN [expansion unknown].

The universal will to fight the German occupiers confronted with the wait-and-see policy of the government in exile urgently called for creating a party that would fuse the striving for independence with a progressive sociopolitical program. The Polish Workers' Party (PPR) took up this cause. Carrying the tradition of adhering to class and international goals of the working class, the program of the PPR at the same time ultimately overcame the mistakes of the SDKPiL and KPP on the national and peasant issues; it combined good patriotism and internationalism. Implementing the slogan of building an all-people anti-Hitler front, the PPR has consequently striven to deepen cooperation with socialists, Peasant Party members and democrats: the armed branch of the party, the People's Guard, strove to conduct a common battle against the occupiers shoulder to shoulder with combat units of the PPS and Peasants' Battalion (BCh).

The position of the PPR with regard to the goal of the workers' movement was especially instrumental in seeking cooperation with the socialists. On 1 February 1943, TRYBUNA WOLNOSCI wrote: "The PPR proceeds from the tradition and history of the Polish workers' movement and borrows from them what is good and healthy, regardless of what party was responsible for creating it." In 1944, a segment of the functionaries of the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists (RPPS)--E. Osobka-Morawski, R. Baranowski, S. Szwalbe, S. Hudoba, H. Swiatkowski--came out in favor of cooperating with the PPR and took part in creating the National People's Council (KRN). The PPS was constituted after the liberation of Polish lands by the Unification Congress in June 1945; the PPS took a stand favoring cooperation with the PPR and supporting the authority of the people's Poland. The Main Council of the PPS made a statement to the same effect in March 1946; in November of that year an agreement was signed on the united action of the PPR and PPS. Without the united Action, establishing the people's power and carrying out peoples' democratic and socialist transformations would be out of the question.

Building the unity of both parties was neither simple nor easy. Inasmuch as in working class communities the creation of the united front of joint action enjoyed nearly total support, in other communities voices of reluctance and controversy instigated by the enemies of the people's power were heard. The election campaign for the 1947 Constituent Parliament was a new, important step ahead on the way to bringing organizational unity closer. The unity of the PPR and PPS members became a basic prerequisite for national unity in such fundamental matters as the consolidation of the people's state in its new favorable frontiers, overcoming reactionary forces conducting armed struggle against the people's power, carrying out agricultural reform and nationalizing industry and beginning of the reconstruction and construction of the country. The process of unification was slowed and hampered to a degree by rightist and separatist tendencies in the PPS and sectarian traits among the segment of PPR members but primarily by degeneration in some echelons of power strongly manifest after 1950.

After a joint session of the PPR Central Committee and the PPS Central Executive Committee on 10 December 1947 and after the 27th PPS Congress, held in Wroclaw 14-15 December on the 55th anniversary of the party and favoring cooperation with the PPR, the unification of both parties became still closer.

On 3 April, a joint plenary session of the Central Committee of the PPR and the PPS Central Executive Committee adopted a resolution on strengthening comprehensive cooperation, which would be crowned by the Unification Congress. On 14 December, the 28th PPS Congress decided on joining with the PPR, and the following day the Unification Congress chartered the Polish United Workers' Party.

The 30-year period separating us from this historical event has borne out the correctness and far-sightedness of the decision on uniting the two trends in the workers' movement, embodied by the PPR and PPS.

For about a year, divisions in the Polish working class and in its organizations have been growing. Under the slogans of "Democratic Socialism," "Socialism for Everybody" and lately "Self-governing Republic," anticommunists of all descriptions and especially the Trotskyites of the Kuron, Michnik and Modzelewski ilk try to pit the workers united in Solidarity trade union against the worker-members of the PZPR, up to the point of trying to remove party organizations from industrial enterprises.

The split in the worker's movement has always been a misfortune. Today, when the working class is the leading force not only due to its numerical strength but also in general due to its place and role in society, attempts to drive this class against the party and the government would lead to the greatest tragedy, including bloodshed. Those who were breaking the unity of the working class by starting to recreate the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), the Polish Socio-Democratic Party (PPSD), the PPNR (prov. Polish National Workers' Party) and so on in their attempts to turn back the wheel of history, were ready for that. The historians trying to contrast former PPS members with former PPR members and present the unification of the workers' movement in 1948 as "the elimination of PPS," almost as an act of coercion committed against that party--such historians deserve condemnation.

The party that united 33 years ago and has carried on the revolutionary tradition of all the trends of the Polish workers' movement, of its best people, today safeguards the vital interests of the motherland and the people.

9761

CSO: 2600/175

PRESS COVERAGE OF 'GASTARBEITER' ISSUE NOTED

'WALKA MŁODYCH' on Causes, Possible Solutions

Warsaw WALKA MŁODYCH in Polish 15 Nov 81 pp 3, 6, 7

[Article by Zenon Kulej: "Turistarbeiters, Or Voyaging to the Land of PEWEX Stores"]

[Text] "Income-earning emigration" is not the most felicitous term with which to define the rush of trips abroad we have observed recently. After all, "emigration" means departure for good. A clear majority of the Poles who leave for western countries think, however, about returning after a while, having amassed some hard currency. Thus, these are simply trips to "make some money." Since it is better, however, not to reveal the actual reason for a trip abroad when applying for both passports and visas, our countrymen officially pass for tourists. In FRG, Austria and Sweden, there has appeared a mass of tourists of a new kind-- "Turistarbeiter" is perhaps the term to apply to them, to coin a new one.

In the Tarnow province and in the neighboring provinces one may find villages in which there are none but newly built brick houses with at least a Zastava [car] parked in front. All that [money for the cars and houses] came from America-- locals say. Farmers from the area go on a relative's invitation to the United States and stay there for a year or two, maybe even 5. Those who have no relatives abroad can arrange for an invitation in exchange for a specified sum of money, using a departing compatriot as a middleman.

American agencies see such people exclusively as tourists, and so do the Polish ones. The authorities in both countries seem to wink at those globetrotters who begin looking for any kind of job as soon as they disembark in Chicago. They do not know the language and have no labor permits, so they are content with the lowest hourly rates which, anyway, seem sky-high to them. They are ready to toil for \$3.50 per hour taking two jobs and sleeping 4-5 hours daily. They work hard, so hard that some undermine their health, but that is of little importance because they will return to be medically treated and pay in zlotys in Poland. Disintegration of the traditional family is seen in Tarnow province more clearly than anywhere else in the Polish rural areas. A trip abroad for several years provides, after all, opportunities to become involved with another person, which a spouse left in Poland will not forgive afterwards.

Yet all these negative features are nothing in view of the prospective affluence that would never be achieved by a farmer from southeastern Poland on his meager acres.

It was difficult to raise this problem in our country, prior to August 1980. People were going abroad and returning, and the network of PEWEX stores and LOCUM housing cooperatives was being expanded with them in mind. Officially, however, the problem did not exist. At best, references were made in the newspapers to the contacts of soccer players and Wojciech Fibak. The subject was embarrassing because a belief in the political character of such trips weighed down on it. This was a view cultivated not only on this side of the Elbe. Whoever wanted to stay in the West for good, claimed to be doing this out of ideological motives. Claims of this kind were more to the liking of western governments than were economic motives because they were more easily readily exploited for propaganda purposes.

This, and no other, reason is guiding West Berlin authorities even now when they refuse to extradite the hijackers of Polish airplanes.

The Truth Must Be Faced

Perhaps in individual cases, those leaving permanently, that is, emigrating, are doing this for political reasons. Yet a preponderant majority, including persons who settle in the FRG under what is termed reunification of families are motivated by economic reasons. Some Poles go to the West in order to live permanently in countries where every store resembles a PEWEX and others want to make some money there to be able to go shopping in PEWEX stores in Poland.

As recently reported during a debate of the Sejm Commission For Foreign Affairs, last year nearly 60,000 Polish citizens remained abroad or extended their stay, taking up jobs or seeking them. This was a reference only to those persons whose stay in the West lasted longer than declared. Actually, the "turistarbeiter" are likely to have been more numerous. It follows from the data of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that 195,000 persons left for the West in the first half of 1980 alone, while 325,000 persons, or 67 percent more, have already left in the corresponding period of 1981. Of course, these figures include regular tourists, as well as trader-tourists who visit e.g., Turkey, to buy gold and sheep-skin coats there, rather than taking jobs. Accurate data on "turistarbeiter" cannot be provided because how are they to be counted? Edmund Osmanczyk claims that the number of young people who will resolve to remain in the West for good this year will exceed 100,000. This constitutes a third of our population growth.

Osmanczyk was the first to grasp the bull by the horns, demanding a passport reform on the Sejm forum. An official position on "income-earning" trips abroad was taken by two labor unions: Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity and the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions [KAZZ]. During its national convention, Solidarity posed a demand for instituting complete freedom of travel and choice of job location and residence, outside of Poland as well. Also, it ensues from various statements that in talks with delegations of foreign unionists Solidarity made attempts to win their approval for Polish citizens taking jobs in their countries. News received from the governmental circles, on the other hand, indicates that, even if the unionists from other countries appear

to be favorably disposed to the suggestions of their Polish partners, the authorities in Western countries do not want to hear anything about some quotas of "gastarbeiters" from Poland. They are already coping with their own unemployment, anyway...

Bad Arguments

In fact, the issue of unemployment is not unequivocal. It exists, that is a fact, but it does not obtain in all occupations. There are approximately 15 million unemployed in the West and, at the same time, 7 million foreigners are working there. Thus, the truth is that a number of the unemployed do not work because they cannot find jobs matching their qualifications and aspirations. Poles, putting aside their aspirations, ask about nothing but wages. In terms of western standards of living, an "undocumented" worker receives very low wages that would not enable a native to support his wife, child, automobile and buy a decent apartment. To a Pole, who multiplies his dollar wage by a black market rate of exchange in effect in Poland, his earnings seem to be sky-high. (Even prior to August 1980, dollar exchange rates were fairly detrimental to our economy, which created opportunities for incoming foreigners to make money readily at our expense. This, however, is a topic for another article.)

In consequence, all the propaganda claims about unemployment in the West, human dignity and capitalist exploitation are wide off the mark. This is not a method by which migrations can be restrained.

There are even less convincing arguments (which I repeatedly found in our press last summer) that run as follows: "POLSERVICE legally exported 600 physicians to other countries. Moreover, we send abroad nurses, electronics engineers and seamen. Could they not better utilize their skills and expertise for the benefit of our economy?" Doctors and nurses also know how to multiply a dollar by 400 zlotys and how much one pays on the black market for an apartment, virtually unobtainable via a housing-cooperative waiting list.

More and more is being written about "income-earning" trips, and it is increasingly difficult to encounter their resolute condemnation. In recent weeks, the strongest terms were used by the SLOWO POWSZECHNE which on October 16 commented:

"Is that what we educated them for, why we gave them scholarships and tightened our belts when this was necessary to ensure them jobs matching their future qualifications, to let them work now for someone else's benefit? Are there really no jobs for them in their homeland? Do we really not need their skills?"

I fully agree with the SLOWO POWSZECHNE, though I must regard the PAX daily's sincerity with some distrust. While shedding tears over the young people driven out for the ill-treatment in the West, the newspaper refers exclusively to a campaign of income-earning trips to the USSR, GDR and CSSR, planned by the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP]. Its lament appears somewhat strange in contrast with the total silence of the SLOWO POWSZECHNE concerning private trips to the West and the attempts of Solidarity and the "autonomists" to legalize gainful employment of Poles in FRG, Austria and Sweden.

While ignoring the reasons for expedience that guided the SLOWO POWSZECHNE columnist, it is impossible not to support his argument, extending it to all kinds of income-earning trips. If, until now, we contrasted exports of raw materials with exports of processed commodities, correctly regarding the former as less remunerative, then exports of manpower should, of course, be regarded as even poorer business for this nation and its state.

We Lose On These Exports

Of course, I am familiar with the claims about impending unemployment. I believe they are rather exaggerated in a country that suffers from acute insufficiency of all kinds of services, including trade, and personnel shortages in extractive industries. In addition, this country is planning to make all Saturdays free from work in the next few years. Work, in my opinion, could be found. The wages and conditions under which it is performed have a discouraging effect. In fact, we are still burdened with the austere concepts of the Gomulka years when it was believed that the customer-per-square-meter-of-floorspace ratios in stores and restaurants were too low anyway.

I also know the claims according to which those departing for abroad will return and bring us some hard currency. This is not the whole truth, however. First, not all of them will come back. Second, transfer of manpower is more profitable to the receiving country than to the exporter. Third, the crisis cannot last forever. Some time soon we have to get to work on eradicating the belief that honest work does not pay in Poland and that any kind of job in a foreign country is more profitable. There is, unfortunately, a lot of truth in this stereotype. Dreaming about "a second Japan," we will not achieve this goal exporting our manpower. Has anyone ever heard about Japanese "gasterbeiters?"

These reasons, therefore, impel us to think about how to do away with exportation of Polish labor. This applies both to the exports to the West and exports to the border-zone factories in GDR and CSRS, practiced throughout the Gierek era yet passed over in embarrassed official silence.

Speaking about eliminating such exports, I am by no means advocating the methods used up to now. Administrative impediments and prohibitions should no longer come into play. Such are the consequences of post-August democratization. It would be equally difficult to disavow the demands for freedom of travel and choice of job location and residence.

On the other hand, it would be wrong for us not to realize that an individual's interests in this respect may conflict with the interests of the community. To conclude, therefore, I am in favor of granting everyone the right to leave, provided that this does not damage the interests of those who stay in Poland. After all, it is no secret that the Western countries particularly need good specialists with technical and medical education, nor would they spurn miners, and would rather not accept specialists of whom we have a surplus as well: economists, lawyers, linguists or experts in Mediterranean archeology. Brain drain is the term that until now operated only within the context of the relationship between the Western countries and the Third World. Today, Poland, too, is threatened by this trend.

The danger of losing a portion of the young population was pointed out in the Sejm by Edmund Osmanczyk. Though he maintained that the main evil is in the impracticable passport regulations, it is not necessary to agree with this view. The weekly ITD carried in its issue No 36 an interesting letter of Andrzej Chmielewski, a young Pole who emigrated to the United States. He draws an unembellished picture of the new emigration. Some emigres "have made it," they have met their goals and their destiny. It does not follow from the letter that those are the people who are willing to return to Poland. Others would return, those who are not doing well. The author of the letter estimates their number to be at 20 to 60 percent. "If, however, they returned, he writes, they would probably wind up in a hospital for the mentally disturbed. No matter where they are, they are already wasted as human beings." Those failures perhaps would not get off the track even if they could return to Poland at any time. This argument alone suffices to support deputy Osmanczyk's motion to change our passport regulations. This, however, cannot be the only stipulated modification.

How to Counteract?

To combat the brain drain, we must reach for many other methods. The most important of these is economic reform which alone can provide the financing for such actions. A reform that will generate opportunities for professional advancement for young and capable persons. It will create opportunities to make money not only for truck-gardeners and commission agents running leased state establishments but also for engineers, doctors and teachers. Not all, but only the ablest and most hard-working.

It is necessary--over a brief period of time--to develop a realistic plan to overcome the housing shortage, since the prospect of acquiring a three-room apartment [in Polish, M-3] at age 40 encourages no one to stay in the country these days.

It is also necessary to implement another proposal of Osmanczyk's--bringing the zloty back to health. Once we have started to set realistic prices, we should do it consistently, as the Hungarians have done, to put an end, in the course of a few years, to the black market dollar rate, set by the PEWEX prices of automobiles, liquor and apartments. Obviously, first larger numbers of those cars and apartments have to be made available. (I will not mention liquor because recent shortages of this article are extraordinary in Poland's 37 years of postwar history.)

There must be an end to the paranoid division between export production and domestic-market production, which has caused profound demoralization in producers and had driven domestic buyers into a justified [inferiority] complex.

Let us reflect about introducing a wage structure resulting in a situation in which even a single earner would be able to ensure support for a whole family. The recently instituted allowances for mothers are the first sign that trends of this kind have finally found some understanding on the part of our politicians and economists.

Of course, we will not accomplish this overnight. If we want to earn as much as the French do, we must achieve their productivity. Many more cars are

manufactured per statistical worker are manufactured by the Renault company than there are at Zeran. In French offices, I have seen women who combined the functions of a secretary, receptionist, cashier and cleaning woman. Would any one in Poland accept so many functions? Yes--if his earnings were similarly multiplied, in my opinion. Are we going to accomplish this under the reform? Let us hope so...

The Polish mines are suffering from manpower shortages. Learning about our declining coal exports, Austrians find it difficult to understand why, if this is the case, so many Poles seek any kind of employment in their country. It is fairly difficult to explain to them the PEWEX and hard currency intricacies, and price and wage paradoxes. And, if we fail to solve these economic inconsistencies that we have accumulated over the years, the dream of emigration will continue to revolve in many an educated young Polish mind. Yet Poland is not rich enough for others, foreigners, to pocket the returns on what we invested into our young generation.

'SZTANDAR MŁODYCH' on Motivation, Consequences

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 3 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Krystyna Grzybowska: "More Than One Bar of Soap"]

[Text] They have been leaving for abroad, beginning already in August 1980, or even earlier. This new emigration has gone on as if unnoticed for a long time. Recently, it became the subject of numerous publications and reports. Some of the engender concern because they trivialize this unusually complex problem, turning it into a subject for jeering and contemptuous epithets. Young people who leave this country for a short time or for good are being referred to as petty connivers, "turistarbeiter," and what not. Their life in transit camps is being depicted, but not the reasons for which they foresake what is dearest to them--their families, friends and homeland.

Emigration was invented neither in our day nor in the 1930's during the Great Depression. It is as old as the world itself. People have changed their abodes, country and continent since the dawn of history. In fact, they did so for various reasons, quite frequently economic, and quite frequently political ones. The populations of the United States of America and Australia were formed from European immigrants. Large numbers of Poles left their country after the collapse of successive national uprisings in search of jobs, or during the war.

Up to this point, we are all in agreement. Disagreements will come next: Not all of us can agree to apply the term emigration also to the current wave of departures for the West. Such agreement would demolish the established order of things. In keeping with it, one does not emigrate from a socialist country. One abandons, renounces or deserts a socialist country. All such terms have a disparaging coloring. Even in Gierek's time, all persons leaving for permanent residence in the capitalist countries were regarded as almost traitors. This posed no problem, however, once such people acquired foreign citizenship and showed they had some hard currency to spend. They were welcome then as representatives of generous communities of Polish extraction in foreign countries with

whom business deals were made, joint ventures were launched and for whom conferences, "scientific" symposia and tours were arranged at exorbitant cost.

A roof overhead is what each of us needs as much as we need bread. Millions of Poles have emigrated in search of bread and a roof. They went abroad as migrant labor for only a few years, just to make some money and bring it back to build a house or provide for the family. Many of them ended up staying, and bringing over their families and friends. They added to the tribe of lonesome people, constantly nostalgic for the country, its custom and culture.

Who can claim today, and on what basis, that those leaving now are different people with motives other than those of their predecessors. Economic motives, that is. In his pronouncement in WALKA MŁODYCH ("Turistarbeiter, Or Voyaging to the Land of Pewex Stores"), Zenon Kulej would have us believe that they go abroad to enjoy stores that are all like a PEWEX. A rather unrefined joke. For columnist Kulej perhaps, a PEWEX store is luxurious, but in a European country, Hungary, for one, a store of this kind is a regular establishment with a good product mix. The truth, however, is that those young people have had it drummed into their heads for a decade that they would be living in luxury, having professional careers and well-equipped homes and that, in general, people would have a more affluent existence. Yet they were given not even a roof overhead. I will not mention other shortages, insulting to human dignity.

A young person or a young family with young children must have some prospect ahead in order to live normally and work and rest in peace. That prospect, however, cannot be projected over decades, for then it changes into hopelessness. The hopelessness of an elderly person can be imagined, but not of a young one! If the frontiers were sealed, perhaps only an insignificant number of desperadoes would try to escape. However, since leaving and taking advantage of the opportunities for rapid stabilization and decent living are permitted, there are many who resolve to do so.

Most of them do not want to leave for good. They are Polish, their home is here. They say, therefore, that they are leaving for a short time. Hence, supposedly, they do not deserve to be called emigrants. But only time will show how many will not return at all and how many will come back home after a year or two, or even several months.

Salt of the Earth

Moral categories were thoroughly confused with economic ones in the mass media. It is immoral to leave because the state has provided an expensive education. A boy or a girl should work to make up for it, while, look, they do not even intend to pay back for their college. They depart as tourists and then ask for political asylum. Yet they are not political emigres. Here is one vicious circle. What should be done, then? Perhaps it would be better for young people not to leave at all, there would be no problem, economic, moral or political.

Indeed. Let me just remind potential advocates of sealing the borders that on 3 May 1977 Poland ratified the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights approved by the UN General Assembly in 1966. Article 12, section 2, states:

"Everybody has the right to leave any country, including a country of his own." As a matter of fact, even attempts to restrict the issuing of passports will give us a bad name, while economic, moral and political problems will remain.

Of course, there are ways to put this elemental emigration into order, but, in order to do so, certain fossilized views must be done away with. For example, the view that Poles cannot become "gasterbeiters," i.e., earn income in the countries of the second [hard currency] payments area. It is better, then, for them to stay in transit camps, making fools of themselves, spilling nonsense about their political motivation to leave (when asking for asylum) and facing an uncertain future. Then, they can be assessed, classified and ridiculed, press and TV reporters being sent for that purpose. Reportedly, those emigrants are for the most part immoral individuals, they ask a Polish priest's housekeeper for help, they steal, and the girls cheat and become loose. They give us a bad name and put their homeland in disrepute.

I do not feel particularly disreputable. A few years back there was indignation in the Polish press about "Polish jokes" which in fact, to this day let other nationalities have a laugh over the Polish penchant for sausage and cabbage and a dislike for soap. Jokes of this kind and righteous indignation go side by side with all untypical social developments, and emigration ranks among these.

Still, I think that Magda, a doctor, and Jacek, an engineer, are fundamentally different from an unkept Jasiek who sailed below deck on an Atlantic liner to America in Konopnicka's time.

The Poles one can meet in Vienna streets fall into two categories. One includes people who want to work and want to receive decent wages for their work. Such people, whether swinging a shovel or washing dishes in a third-rate restaurant, are absolutely honest, and nobody needs to be ashamed of them. The second category is a classical product of the system that has been in force in our country for decades. They have been taught by experience that there are no reasonable relationships between work and earnings and work and the standard of living. They know, because they have had it drummed into their heads from childhood (they were born and raised in the People's Poland) that it is much easier to steal, cheat, connive, which does not have to be sinful or immoral. They also know that only idiots toil in the sweat of their brow for the wise ones "arrange" everything for themselves.

Their stay in Vienna or in Frankfurt centers on the quickest and least painful acquisition of money without hard work and self-denial. In fact, would they be able to work?

They are certainly marginal, but it is a margin that is most conspicuous. There is no point in becoming overly indignant about them, though. In particular, there should be no indignation on the part of those who have raised them, on the part of people from the older and middle-aged generation. After all, they have had their input in the young generation's being on occasion infantile, on occasion irresponsible and on occasion dishonest. Let's be frank about it--young people have not been taught to appreciate values of a higher order than material ones. They have not been taught an ability to sacrifice and persist in pursuing their goals. And those PEWEX stores mentioned by Mr Kulej are also a product of our system, so it is not surprising that some people regard them as the peak of their aspirations.

The Young Ones Have It Easier

Regarding the new emigration trend objectively and unemotionally, it is necessary to take into account all the components of this issue. The crisis is deepening, and prospects for stabilization of the country's economic situation are still remote. Everyone's life deteriorates from day to day. People of the middle-aged generation, who would gladly depart for an income-earning trip abroad are wavering. Their strength and health are not adequate for them to leave for an uncertain future. The young ones have an easier way of it. They still are able to start everything anew and they leave behind no accumulated property. Not even an apartment. If they do not succeed, tough luck. A trip of this kind is an adventure too, though not an easy one.

I understand the concern with the fate of those people. They are working "in the dark," with no insurance, no medical benefits, at the lowest rates. At the same time, however, those rates will enable them later on in Poland to arrange for themselves quite tolerable living or, if they decide to stay abroad, their wages will enable them to acquire apartments, automobiles, and even some savings in the course of a few years.

The new emigres are educated people. They do not resemble those bread-seeking immigrants of old, but it is not bread on the literal sense that is their concern. There is no shortage of bread for anyone on our continent, in our country as well. Still, the standard of living in other countries, socialist countries included, is incomparably higher than in Poland. And it is in this sense that this is an income-earning emigration. A man or a woman want to be able to buy for their work more than three packs of cigarettes per week and a bar of soap every two months. They cannot imagine raising and feeding a child and providing for its proper development under the conditions that now prevail in the country.

They are not used to living in poverty. They remember the times when things were better. They can see today that they have to pay an enormous price, through no fault of their own, for those better times.

I do not intend to moralize and dissuade young persons from leaving the country. That would not do. Guys who come from FRG after two months and bring a car appeal to imaginations more effectively than the most ardent appeals and drastic reports. Let me say just one thing. Having emigrated, one frequently pays for the dollars, marks, cars and affluent living with social degradation and isolation, at least for some time. This is a very old truth, at least when applied to Poles. It should be remembered by those who promise themselves too much.

In the 1980's, emigration reaches hundreds of thousands. Soon we will be told about a million...

What will their fate be like? Will they come back to Poland? Wherever they are, in the Australian outback or European urban complexes, they are Poles, our compatriots and they deserve something better than our contempt, and their fates deserve something other than our neglect.

Those who have caused this emigration do deserve contempt and punishment. We who are in Poland, the state authorities above all, should do everything so that persons who desire to work in the West do not have to work illegally, without protection and security.

PAP Report on Passport Policy

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Dec 81 pp 1, 6

[Article by?: "Income-Earning Emigration Versus Passport Policy"]

[Text] There was a lively response abroad and domestically to the statements of Edmund Osmanczyk, representative of the Opole province, concerning major social and national problems, including so-called income-earning emigration of residents of People's Polish Republic [PRL], especially young persons, passport policy and problems involved in the Polish citizenship.

Particularly impressive was this statement in Osmanczyk's speech of last July: "Finally, we have an opportunity to become a normal nation, governing a normal state, a state in which all those desiring to leave know they can come back any time and leave again any time they wish."

With the approval of the Sejm, the commission for Foreign Affairs appointed an extraordinary subcommittee for status of Polish citizens which took shape a month ago. Participating in its activities are: representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Finance.

On December 3, the subcommittee held its second session. Opening the session, deputy Osmanczyk (non-party) emphasized the tremendous interest in the issues that had been raised, at the same time offering for reflection the question of the functioning of Polish passport regulations in light of international acts ratified by Poland and in light of citizens' needs. Specific fears and doubts are being engendered in this area, as indicated by incoming correspondence.

The subcommittee's deliberations in their entirety demonstrated that the problems raised in this forum extend beyond passport matters alone. Deputy R. Hajduk (PZPR) referred to the developments related with departures of indigenous population from Silesia. The comments of deputy Stanislaw Rostworowski (non-party, Christian Social Association [ChSS]) focused on our national tradition, according to which everyone has the right to return to the Polish homeland. Deputy Karol Malcuzyński (non-party) asserted the need for revision of existing laws, referring, among other things, to what he termed a "stretchable clause" that provides for non-issuance of passports because of "other significant reasons of the state." Deputy Adam Lopatka (PZPR) and deputy Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki (PZPR) also advocated modernization of existing regulations emphasizing that the overriding principle ought to be coherent respect for the interests of the citizens and the interests of the state as a whole. It is necessary to have a comprehensive view of society and vigilance, so that the interests of individuals do not come into conflict with the interests of the state.

Ministry representatives also took the floor and stated their positions on issues raised. Wacław Szarszewski, a department director at the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW], received much attention when he advised that as of 2 December 1981 there were 75,113 persons staying abroad, including 23,582 persons who were outside Poland for up to three months, 30,162 persons who had overstayed that period, and 1,369 persons who were staying abroad for more than six months. All of these citizens of the Polish People's Republic are holders of passports valid for three years, so it is difficult to refer to an "escape trend" before the expiration of this term.

In connection with these and other cited data, a vigorous exchange of views was held about the popular opinion on what is termed income-earning emigration and on decisions to stay abroad permanently. References were also made to consular passports.

Later in the session, on the initiative of deputy Janusz Stefanowicz (non-party, PAX), the deputies decided to appoint four working commissions on modernization of the 1952 act on Polish citizenship, modernization of the (1059) act on passports, changes in the (1944) consular act and social and international problems involved in what is termed income-earning emigration.

Many deputies pointed out the need to adjust the act on citizenship to actual conditions under which Poles reside permanently abroad. Also, statements were made to the effect that it was impermissible to apply joint penal responsibility for offenses committed by relatives by blood or marriage, or to force renunciation of Polish citizenship in cases when acquisition of foreign citizenship is a necessity dictated by the regulations of the country of residence and in other cases. At the same time it was declared that some problems provoke particular emotions and that restraint should be exercised in order not to generate illusory hopes about unlimited travel abroad.

In its adopted resolution the subcommission declared that, having reviewed collected materials on the problem of income-earning emigration and status of Polish citizens, along with opinions on these two subjects, it found it correct to continue its legislative activities in order to amend currently effective laws on passports and Polish citizenship and on regulations resulting from these laws.

Student Club Discussion

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by pt: "Half-Truths About Seasonal Work Abroad"]

[Text] (From our own sources) A desire to learn the "Truth About Seasonal Work Abroad" attracted more than 100 persons to the student "Hybrydy" club on 2 December. Even before the meeting started, the organizers proved their familiarity with the principles of advertising. Posters inviting former and future "gasterbeiters" cropped up in various locations in the city. Neither failed to show up.

They came to debate with a genuinely competent group that included the authors of a TV film about Polish refugees in Austria, Jerzy Ambroziewicz and Tadeusz Zakrzewski, Col Zygmunt Szczepanski from the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MSW), director Wojciech Kowalski from POLSERVICE and two journalists: Waldemar Karwat from the radio and Mariusz Dastych, free lance.

As is known, discussions in "Hybrydy" are vigorous and not always to the point. Concepts become blurred, facts are confused and, most important, emotions take the upper hand in polemical fervor.

In this case, the problem was expanded to cover the "truth about departures for abroad, permanent and temporary." The question of political asylum was given equal time with possibilities for legal employment of Poles abroad. In general, the climate in the hall could hardly be regarded as friendly toward the invited guests. Those hardest "hit" were, of course, the MSW and POLSERVICE representatives (their defense was not bad, either), but the journalists also did not leave unharmed.

The beginning, as always when leaving Poland, was up to the MSW. Col. Szczepanski himself referred to the 3-4 month long waiting period for passports as "scandalous," which was apparently the only instance when the audience fully agreed with him. Attempts were made to determine the extent of tourist trips and income-earning temporary emigration. It was possible to establish only that MSW issued 872,000 passports in 10 months of 1981, and there would be more than one million by the end of the year. Refusals to issue passports range about 5 percent. The number of persons who overstay their stay abroad beyond the periods declared while in Poland reached 26 percent in the last half-year. On the other hand, journalists estimated that 100,000 to 130,000 persons had decided to work for extended periods or to become permanent emigrants. Those who will follow them are waiting in lines at foreign embassies or go directly to Vienna, which is already saturated with its charitable action.

These statistics were followed by doubts. The audience registered objections as to the reasonableness and necessity of declaring the duration of planned trips, while Col. Szczepanski tried to prove that the state passport policy had been considerably liberalized during the past decade. [His claim] that refusals were affecting a constantly diminishing group of people did not convince the audience. The general trend was this: give us our passports in hand and stop picking on us. The main assault on this issue occurred in the second part of the meeting in reference to the most vehemently criticized refusals to grant a passport "for important social reasons" to relatives of persons who illegally remain abroad.

Once the problem of crossing the frontier was partially exhausted, the floor was given to the TV representatives. After several questions from the "Hybrydy" hosts and from the audience, J. Ambroziewicz began doubting whether it was supposed to be a problem debate or a consulting session for candidates for employment abroad. At least a dozen people were eagerly taking down information they believed to be crucial. I was astounded how numerous the "journalists" were servicing this event. It should be assumed, therefore, that the audience was dominated by future, rather than former, "gastarbeiters." There was also a group of persons who had been refused passports.

Finally, the TV representatives suppressed their doubts and presented us with a portrayal of the live Poles living in Austria. To some extent, this was a summary of the two-part report shown on television, so it is pointless to deal with it again. J. Ambroziewicz affirmed that recently the position of the Austrian government on emigrants has cooled down and the local press began having headlines like "Poles, go away."

Overall, the portrayal of the Traiskirchen camp was as gloomy at "Hybrydy" as it had been on television. Moreover, it was not too precise, since Mr. Ambroziewicz said on one occasion that courageous, ambitious and superior people were leaving Poland and soon after added that he had met a lot of semi-criminal elements in Austria, people who he would most willingly let out by opening the frontiers. In consequence, he had to add that no statement made about the "gastarbeiters" is completely true.

An unexpectedly feeble attack was directed against the POLSERVICE representative.

It is, therefore, even more surprising that the name of deputy Osmanczyk was brought up only at the end of the meeting, almost irrelevantly. Col. Szczepanski did not conceal his numerous reservations about the proposals advanced in the Sejm forum. He did not say, however, what those reservations were. He admitted that in the future (it is not known of what kind) passports will be kept in citizens' homes. He immediately added that no illusions should be held on this account because it may (though, of course, it does not have to) happen that a passport will be at a citizen's home and the citizen will still be in the country because there are ways to keep him there anyway.

This statement was supplemented by J. Ambroziewicz who pointedly observed that a universally satisfying passport law will never come to pass, even though we might begin to carry our passports in our pockets. He also said, however, just as Osmanczyk had stated in the Sejm, that the current regulations were no good and provided too many opportunities for arbitrary interpretation.

Fortunately, nothing is eternal, old laws included. The hosts of the Student Discussion Center [SOD] "Hybrydy" have already announced their intention to organize a second meeting on "Truth" in January of 1982, this time starring deputy Osmanczyk, after his victorious, they say, battle for amendment of the Polish passport law.

Hostile Reaction in FRG

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Dec 81 p 7

[Article by Eugeniusz Guz: "Hard Times for Polish Newcomers, Too"]

[Text] A well-known Polish journalist who had crossed FRG borders many times was recently told for the first time at the Frankfurt am Main airport that he was not permitted to take gainful employment there.

This extraordinary incident (he had an official passport) reflects the new atmosphere awaiting those arriving from Poland. It is marked by increased distrust by the authorities, less readily turning a blind eye to Polish infractions.

Faced with the invasion of foreigners (4.6 million), record unemployment (1.5 million), simply astronomical debt (several hundred billion marks chiefly to domestic banks), declining economic activity and many other problems of unprecedented caliber, FRG authorities are primarily thinking about securing the interests of their own nation. This is the source of growing distaste for foreigners whose purposes are other than tourist.

The complications are reflected, among other things, in increasingly strict enforcement of regulations, observed also by Polish tourists. Leaving FRG, our citizens are interrogated by customs officials as to amounts of hard currency they had upon entry, manner of acquisition of such currency and the amount taken out of FRG. Anyone who admits to having worked without a permit must fill out a personal form and report the name of the company that provided employment. Accepting a job without a permit is punished by a DM 250 fine, an order to leave FRG territory in 48 hours and loss of the right to apply for an FRG visa for the next 5 years. The employer risks paying a fine of DM 30,000 to DM 60,000. As reported by travellers, appropriate FRG authorities are restricting the extension of three-month tourist visas for Polish visitors. There is also stricter enforcement of registration procedures. Overstaying an FRG visa involves a DM 250 fine, and expiration of insurance on a car with Polish registration involves a fine of DM 200. A centralized data storage system easily detects cheating by those citizens who apply for permanent residence in several locations at the same time to obtain several allowances simultaneously.

As reported by the returning tourists, the atmosphere in FRG is still favorable towards granting Poland charitable assistance, but displeasure with Poles who try to settle there for a while or for good is decidedly on the rise. Such Poles deprive Germans of jobs by accepting inferior wage and working conditions, which fuels that displeasure. They also compete with the locals for governmental assistance in obtaining reduced-rate housing. Devoting its central topic to "citizens' enmity towards foreigners," DER SPIEGEL refers to an abrupt change in the mood of FRG against foreigners and asserts that serious deliberations are under way to close the borders to all those who merely pretend to have tourists purposes. DER SPIEGEL writes about a Polish waiter beaten in Dusseldorf who was told to "get back to Poland fast and stop taking work away from the Germans." Of course, these are isolated cases still, though quite so, because the police are very discreet for obvious reasons. Further deterioration in the mood against Poles can be expected along with the worsening of FRG's economic situation. The measures taken by Austria and to some extent by Sweden can provoke a response in FRG which receives the heaviest flow of Polish tourists going West.

8795

CSO: 2600/161

SOLIDARITY 'STRUGGLE FOR POWER' VIEWED

AU111759 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Dec 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by Andrzej Leszczynski: "Two Lines"]

[Excerpts] Our readers have been able to read in our daily and to hear on the radio and television the statements made by some leading Solidarity activists. These statements form a clear scenario for an attack on our state's socialist political principle and for a power struggle, which is now quite open and in which--let us recall--there is a place for embarrassing the authorities, inciting peasants against civil servants, occupying public buildings, setting up groups armed with clubs and helmets, and for "beating up the jaws."

How is it possible to reconcile that terrifying scenario with the August slogans for democratic renewal and the abolition of all manifestations of intolerance and coercion: The people who have chosen just this strategy of confrontation are far removed from any thoughts about any lasting forms of national agreement of all social forces.

The recent TV discussion between the Government and Solidarity representatives on economic reform made very clear how removed some Solidarity activists were from the country's reality and needs.

The line outlined in the recent statements made by the extreme Solidarity leaders is a line leading to a clash and confrontation. This is not a conclusion dictated by prejudice. It is a conclusion resulting from an analysis of events and from the fact that Solidarity has ignored the various appeals to stop the strikes and unrest ruining the country.

Without withholding criticism of the various procrastinations and delays in the process of democratic renewal, we can recognize two evaluations as unshakable. First, that this process is developing gradually and consistently and that there is no return to the relations that existed before August in any sector of our social, economic and political life. Second, that this is taking place in a fully democratic manner, with the Government and the Party always searching for opportunities for dialogue, discussion and agreement with all groups of our society.

And this is no tactical dodge, as they say at Solidarity headquarters. The line of dialogue and agreement has become the strategic line of the renewed Party--an axis around which the views and attitudes of the Party masses crystallize and reach the broader sections of society. Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski's government is fully behind this line. Hence the consistency with which the authorities have proposed agreement on successive occasions and indicated the bases for dialogue and constructive discussions as well as opportunities to achieve compromises for the good of the people.

In the present tense situation, millions of people in Poland keep asking themselves: What next? How will all this end? It is obvious that authorities who feel genuinely responsible for the fate of the people and the state cannot neglect safeguards against catastrophe. Hence the idea to equip the Government--for a temporary period, that is, for the present winter--with special powers to bring under control the dramatically acute situation. Let us repeat--for a temporary period.

This does not cancel the line of agreement, the idea of a front [of national accord], social consultations, multilateral negotiations--in a word, a broadly conceived dialogue. The Solidarity activists' most recent statements, full of yearning for confrontation, do not infringe on that line.

According to the government press spokesman's statement issued the day before yesterday, the authorities will search for opportunities to reach agreement at all levels and will draw on the experience of joint activities in many enterprises, towns, villages and various social and professional communities because agreement stems from a superior strategic line of action.

And when these days we anxiously receive news about the worsening situation in the country, it is worth knowing that the Party, the Government and the allied political parties are determined to maintain the program for national agreement and to search for opportunities for dialogue wherever this is possible and wherever even a shadow of agreement can be discerned--agreement on the basis of socialism and its humanist values. All this is for social peace and for getting the country out of its deep crisis. It is for Poles.

CSO: 2600/275

PEOPLE'S MARTIAL LAW DUTIES OUTLINED

AU221726 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 81 p 4

[PAP headline: "Services for Defense"]

[Text] Concerning the terms of the law dated 21 November 1967 about the general duty to defend the Polish People's Republic and concerning the regulations issued on the basis of this law as to services to be rendered for the defense of the country during martial law, the regulations which are binding in times of mobilization and of war are to be applied.

These services involve the following duties: The giving over of means of transportation, tools, machines and equipment to the defense needs of the State; the carrying out of personal and material services.

Means of transportation, tools, machines and equipment together with the essential accessories which are in the possession of state institutions and enterprises, collective organizations, social organizations, trade organizations and private and legal persons may be--by the decision of the competent bodies--given over to the defense forces, civil defense formations and state organizational units for an indefinite period. These forces fulfill the demands necessary for the defense of the nation.

Persons between 16 and 60 years of age can be drafted by the basic local state administrative bodies at any time to do all kinds of emergency work for the armed forces or the state organizational units. The period of such work must not exceed 7 days at a time. The organizational unit for which personal services are being rendered for more than 8 hours is obliged to provide free food for the persons concerned. If such work exceeds 24 hours, the unit in question provides the necessary time and facilities for rest. If personal services are rendered during working hours, the person concerned does not lose any entitlements resulting from his normal work. Persons who have no regular employment are entitled to remuneration in line with the minimum wages paid for the kind of work done by them. State institutions, state enterprises and collective organizations as well as social and trade union organizations can be placed under an obligation by state administrative bodies to provide material services in the form of surrendering fixed and mobile facilities for an indefinite period to the armed forces, civil defense formations and other state organizational units implementing tasks to meet state defense needs. This duty can be imposed on individuals and corporate bodies.

The owner who refuses to surrender or prevents the surrender of means of transportation, tools, machines or equipment with the necessary accessories, and the organizational or corporate unit, or individual, who refuses to obey the duty of rendering personal or material services will be punished by deprivation of freedom for up to 3 years.

CSO: 2600/274

MILITARY ACTIVITIES UNDER MARTIAL LAW OUTLINED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Dec 81 pp 1, 6

[Article by K-ci: "The Military's Sacrifice at Every Post So that Society Can Live and Work in Peace"]

[Text] Martial law in the country has brought society drastic restrictions of democratic freedoms, deprivations and many inconveniences. For 5 days and nights the military in close cooperation with the forces of law and order have been guarding our homes with dedication and sacrifice, returning law and order and safety to the streets of our cities and settlements, and ensuring the smooth functioning of our offices and plants--for the sake of peaceful life and work in society, for the sake of a better future for socialist Poland.

The most people are aware of the necessity for peace, the need for concentrated work that can ensure normalizing life in the country. This is expressed by the inhabitants' initiatives to create local Committees of National Salvation that declare their readiness to undertake more tasks to serve and work for the country in this particularly difficult time.

A deep understanding of the seriousness of the situation and necessities accompanying it is also characteristic of the soldiers who have retired or are in the reserves. Many of them report to military units without being called up; some assume duties in local group operations; others form self-defense detachments.

Militarized workers, patrols made up of members of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) and activists of the KZMP [Communist Union of Polish Youth] have taken up duties in helping to guard some installations and offices. Workers patrols have been guarding plants in many regions of the country.

In Warmia and Mazuria

In Olsztyn since the first day of martial law, soldiers have been standing their posts, guarding installations important to the region: the radio station, the television relay station, food warehouses, the city water supply, power stations as well as roads and railway lines.

Col Henryk Swiecicki, Chief of the Voivodship Army Staff and at the same time the plenipotentiary-commissar of the Committee for the Defense of the Country, has

informed us that in Warmia and Mazuria 5 days ago, under the new conditions of martial law, several dozen local operational groups were reactivated. Out of this number, four are continuing the work they began in November in Olsztyn. The Olsztyn and local operational groups have been joined by members of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers who, according to their qualifications, proceeded to render assistance to the commanders of MGO [City Operational Groups]. Colonel Swiecicki underscored the involvement of these former professional soldiers and their excellent knowledge of the region's problems. After all, it is no wonder, since many of them come from Warmia and Mazuria and almost all of them done their military service here. Army MGO's, operating on the communal farm, in commerce, in power engineering, have done a lot to improve the difficult situation in the region and in the city.

In Olsztyn, a Local Committee of National Salvation has been spontaneously created and has been submitting a number of proposals dealing with society's share in maintaining order and safety. It has declared its readiness to undertake various kinds of service and production tasks. Civic concern over the future of their homeland and working people's heightened consciousness have resulted in having the few acts of protest in the region stopped, and now there have been appearing numerous signs of an improvement in labor productivity and indications of a return to law and order in cities and villages.

Artillery Training

Intensive training of gun crews has been going on in the Silesian Military District artillery unit. Specially assigned subunits and teams are combat ready under the decree of martial law. Barracks and housing areas are being guarded. Army patrols control private travel and social gatherings near the garrison.

During the course of meetings held in subunits of party and youth organizations, young artillerymen express their support for the decision of the Military Council of National Salvation under the leadership of General of the Army, Wojciech Jaruzelski. Analyzing the difficult situation presently threatening the country, soldiers have particularly harsh words of condemnation for their peers' adventurism--students and young people eager for adventure who do not consider the consequences of being subjected to the criminal influences of the anti-socialist and anti-national extremism of "Solidarity."

The commander of the artillery unit emphasized the civic attitude of the reservists, senior reserve cpl Andrzej Zalewski, bombardier Irene Tyrula and gunner Szweryn Staszewski, among others, who had already made themselves available in great numbers to the command on Monday, in order to contribute, by their determined action, to the full implementation of the new and responsible tasks outlined for our armed forces by the Military Council of National Salvation.

On Roads and Rail Lines

Across the whole country, from the Bug to the Oder river, railroad men and roadmen in army uniforms are doing their duty at fighting posts as they give technical protection to railroads, railroad lines, offices and communication installations. In field groups, the mood is one of seriousness, concern and determination. This determination is fully manifested in the scrupulous execution of their duties--not only to protect the communication lines and routes but in guarding thoroughfares used by trains and automobiles.

Soldiers are also giving ample support to railroad workers by making sure that trains run without interruption and are on time, as well as speeding aid to the scene of breakdowns and derailments. Specialists from highway units regulate traffic on main roads, control travel, and look after the efficiency and travelability of all the arteries for vehicular traffic.

Soldiers from military groups of railroadmen in Strzemieszyc, Jarocin, Malaszewicz, Poznan and Kostrzyn are duly fulfilling the tasks set by martial law. In watching over the efficiency of railroad lines and arrangements for traffic safety, they are also helping with snow removal and making travel run smoothly. In Malaszewicz soldiers from the Warsaw OW [Military District] railroad unit helped the people from PKP [Polish State Railroads] in the reloading of meat supplies and other consumer goods from the Soviet Union.

On the 5th day of martial law, soldiers under the command of officers, Roman Krasinski, Czeslaw Glod and Wojciech Lysak, among others, of the Pomeranian Military District railroad unit, have been actively and effectively carrying out their duties. In guarding railroad junctions, viaducts, bridges and engineering installations, soldiers are performing their duties in an exemplary fashion, with deep conviction that their military duty is needed by the people, that their soldierly labor on snow covered railroad lines and roads is successfully supporting the vast majority of inhabitants who desire social stability, law and order, and favorable conditions for normal everyday work for the good of Poland.

With Pilots-Communications Officers

When martial law was declared in the State, pilots-communications officers took up their battle posts. Like their colleagues--these representatives of the remaining services and specialties are fulfilling their duties in an exemplary fashion, conscious of the fact that the Polish soldier should be there wherever his services are needed for fulfilling the best interests of the people, wherever determination is needed to oppose the danger threatening our homeland.

Together with the militia, these pilot-communications officers have been assigned to constant patrolling of the city area. They stood around-the-clock guard posts at designated installations; they had to do internal communications work, and more than once radio communication lines went out to a very distant location. Walking a guard post at night is especially hard because the mercury falls lower and lower and many times there is no place to get warm. Sure they have warm enough clothing and get hot meals, but how hard these things are to come by is known only by those who stand the night guard. And there are many of them, but let us name a few: Senior Warrant Officer Jan Kata, Master Sgt Stanislaw Olejarczyk, Sgt Zenon Furian, Sgt Jerzy Weclas and Junior Sgt Jozef Doktor. They are distinguishing themselves in carrying out difficult and highly responsible duties and deserve recognition like all the others.

Despite the many difficulties, a lot is done in the unit to ensure an intense rhythm to the training. The daily round of programs takes place in lecture halls, drill fields and nearby firing ranges. Radio operators under the command of Capt Wlodzimierz Kowalski, participated in exercises to improve communication skills. Others improved their practical skills in military tactics in the field. The youngest soldiers under the command of Lt Andrzej Kogneluk spent time at the firing range. In difficult winter conditions they gained indispensable firing skills. In several subdetachments field exercises were also held.

Newspapers are enjoying more popularity than usual. Senior Cadet Cpl Krzysztof Kowalczyk and Senior Cadet Cpl Ryszard Kaczmarek are engaged in preparing additional information service daily. These men are graduates of the Officer Cadet Training Unit at the Political Officers Training Center. This special daily information service is broadcast morning and afternoon over the radio. The demand for current information is very great and unending; consequently, young agitators--among them Cpl Kazimierz Wojdyla, Master Sgt Henryk Michalak and Sgt Jaroslaw Zbierski--are more active in their work than usual. Officers of the political apparatus and all party members are fulfilling a similar function by answering questions addressed to them and clarifying the many problems of today's realities.

And this is what Master Sgt Slawomir Kilak thinks about this reality: "I am convinced that the calling into existence of the Military Council of National Salvation was on all accounts warranted by the situation that had developed in the country. I think that this decision could have been carried out successfully much earlier against the professed designs of those forces hostile to socialism. I perform my duties with the conviction that the steps undertaken by the council under the leadership of General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski will be successful in bringing about a normalization of the situation, and subsequently settling accounts with those responsible for the present state of affairs. I also consider that the most sacred duty of every Pole and every soldier of LWP [Polish People's Army] is the defense of his country against anyone who threatens its safety and independence."

Master Sgt Andrzej Naskret says: "It was high time that genuine law and order was brought to the country and the adventuristic actions of groups leading the nation to annihilation positively suppressed. I think that the Military Council of National Council has successfully managed to do this and that soon all Poles will be able to return to a normal, peaceful life."

Naval Support

Tasks being implemented by the Navy as a result of martial law require a multitude of efforts both from ships' crews who continue their vigilant watch over our country's Baltic shores and from individual shore position units that are carrying out their responsibilities in coastal regions.

These signal men (among others) in their navy blue uniforms have been demonstrating special expertness, high discipline and steadfastness under the difficult operating conditions in ice and snow. These tasks are being performed unflinchingly as befits the winners in this year's Navy competition for being named the best coastal shore unit.

Exemplary execution of duty and the maintenance of an intensive training effort over a long period of time have their roots in the profound support of an ideology in the patriotic attitudes of the officers and men of the Polish Navy. Signal men document their support for the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation through their selfless performance of duty. They also express their support in discussions during meetings of party and youth organizations. For example, members of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] for the subdetachment commanded by Commander Boguslaw Rakowski took up the following resolution: "Our organization supports advancing the goal of ensuring law and order in the country--as members of the party in uniform--we assure you that we will perform our duties in an exemplary fashion and fight for the good of our socialist homeland."

While carrying out their tasks there is not always time for organizing meetings of the basal party organization. In connection with this situation, groups of young party members were called on to carry out uninterrupted political work in subdetachments operating in the area. These groups were directed by Warrant Officer Miroslaw Walczak and Petty Officer 2nd Class Roman Kreft, among others. They assure sailors thorough information on actual events and put forth an effort in selflessly discharging difficult duties in the area, and give their comrades in service personal examples of their good work.

The secretary of the party committee of the unit, Commander Kazimierz Janicki, notes with satisfaction a number of examples of further consolidation of collectives around the consistently implemented line of action by the PZP in the situation threatening the country. A further growth in party ranks has been observed. Lately, Cadet of the Reserve Officer Cadet School Ensign Petty Officer 2nd Class Tomasz Suchonski, who is training in one of the units, has joined the PZPR. His reasons for naming himself as a legitimate candidate for the party were that he represented the signal men of the Navy at large, who consider the Polish United Workers Party the single competent force for leading the country out of the crisis situation and ensuring a real renovation of the socialist Republic.

Army Patrols

Every task performed by soldiers under martial law has a number of dangers connected with them. Particularly dangerous is pulling patrol duty in an urban area with a lot of buildings.

Soldiers from the Silesian Military District Combat Engineer unit performed in peace time a number of difficult and responsible training tasks for the benefit of the national economy. They also took part in combatting natural disasters. Many among them engaged in work that benefited agriculture by helping with potato and corn harvests. Combat engineers from the subdetachment of Lt Miroslaw Pstrokowski have built more than one bridge that has cut down on the travel time to livestock for slaughter and agricultural yields, to gmina [parish] sale points of fodder, fertilizers and coal. With great commitment these combat engineers have hitherto performed training exercises on firing ranges and drill fields adjacent to the barracks, and they are now discharging their duties in an exemplary fashion by patrolling a designated part of the city. Around-the-clock duty in a time of martial law, with temperatures below 10 degrees C, is no easy task, but despite everything men under the command of 2nd Lt Miroslaw Lasuk and Warrant Officer Henryk Szponarski are performing this duty with great commitment.

9866

CSO: 2600/168

MILITARY ACTIVITIES AFTER FIRST WEEK OF MARTIAL LAW DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 19-20 Dec 81 pp 1, 8

[Article by correspondents: "Devotion in the Execution of Every Mission at the Combat Posts"]

[Text] In the Border Zone. Guarding Railway Installations.
Naval Shipyard Workers. Soldierly Vigilance.

In a feeling of the highest responsibility of citizenship and for the destiny of the state, the 7th day of continuous service of all branches of the army is continuing. At every position, at every combat post, in all parts of the country, the soldiers of the Polish People's Army are fulfilling orders for the salvation of the fatherland and are preserving their allegiance to socialist Poland, to the nation, to the army flag.

The harsh reality of martial law in the country and the necessity for sacrifice and devotion have also become the lot of the soldiers of the Polish Army. The situation demands more of them than from any other citizen. It forces them to be on duty around the clock and to carry out hours upon hours of service under especially strenuous conditions--which require endurance and strength and do not permit them to rest at home with their families.

And even though the activity of each one of them entails the necessity to risk life and health, they will remain at their posts until law and order and security are restored, until an atmosphere of earnest labor prevails in all workshops, at every job, and until political provocativeness and economic incompetence end.

The support of numerous young military people for the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation bears witness to their patriotic attitude and their understanding of the current emergency legal restrictions. The soldiers' regular declarations of joining the ranks of the Polish United Workers Party expresses this. Above everything else, however, their readiness to give themselves for their fatherland and nation bears witness to their decisive, uncompromising response wherever there is a threat to peace, order and security, where criminal provocations are pushing society toward its destruction.

Among the Border Guards

In the Baltic Brigade of the WOP [border guards], the soldiers in basic military service and the civilian workers received the news of the institution of military law with great seriousness and complete understanding. The border guards then began the tasks resulting from the danger to the state. Many interrupted their leaves and passes in order to report to their units. Sgt Wieslaw Turczak bade farewell to his young wife a few hours after his wedding: on Sunday, he was already at his post in the guard tower.

Special groups under the leadership of experienced personnel are guarding important installations to the maritime region and are carrying out various law and other functions. Military patrols in the border zone cooperate closely with the militia officials. In carrying out their missions at a special installation, Junior Warrant Officer Stanislaw Wypych and Sgt Edward Szkatulski distinguished themselves. The other officers and soldiers in the unit are carrying out missions necessitated by the situation. This need was met recently through the help of green-cap engineers, in the removal of ice jams, among other places on the Parsenta river in Kolobrzeg, where the city hospital was endangered, and also in Darlowo.

As mentioned by Lt Stanislaw Malkiewicz, the border guards demonstrate their readiness to act against counterrevolution and anarchy, against the traitors to the Polish nation who are pushing society toward disaster. Senior Sgt Jacek Crajka spoke about the correctness of the decision of the Military Council of National Salvation at a meeting of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] in the guard tower, as did Senior Corp Nowacki, who assured the unit leadership, in the name of the 3-year class of soldiers, of the readiness of the border guards to carry out any and all combat missions.

At the Communications Center

The high level of citizenship of the civilian workers of the communications center, who carry out their missions for the country under the new martial law conditions in an exemplary way, with great devotion and sacrifice, was emphasized by Major Wladyslaw Brzycha. The majority reported to work immediately after the declaration of a state of danger to the state. Today, after 6 days of realizing their new tasks and changes, the work of Anna Bieszczad, Maria Szopa, Stanislaw Burck and Edward Kamyski, among others, is being commended.

The squad commanded by Corp Witold Grokowski is carrying out its mission of protecting military installations in an exemplary fashion. The soldiers have affirmed with conviction that the Military Council of National Salvation under the leadership of General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski acted at the last moment, when all other means of overcoming anarchy and the dissolution of the state had failed. They also believe that the action will help to return the life of the country to normality. The young military people declare their readiness for all-out struggle against those who are publicly attempting to pit the army against the people.

On the Railroads

The soldiers of the railroad battalion of the Warsaw Military District have been carrying out military assignments in their territory for 6 days, protecting the communications lines and the stations, bridges, viaducts and auxiliary engineering installations. The soldiers from the field group of officer Witold Mazur are concerned with the proper operation of railroad transportation on the Hutniko-Siarkowa line. The tasks connected with efficiency and security of traffic on this line, important for many industrial plants, are being carried out by the military railroad personnel with full devotion and in a highly disciplined and self-sacrificing way. Pursuant to martial law requirements, the soldiers are guarding railroad installations, including tracks, railroad switches and turnouts, and are aiding in snow-removal and deicing work of those elements of marshaling yard traffic especially affected by ice jamming during cold waves.

With their responsible and difficult service under harsh winter conditions, the soldiers of the steel roads are demonstrating their high preparedness for combat activities. Day and night, the military railroad personnel carry out their duty at posts on open ground, under particularly demanding conditions that require strength and endurance.

Several career soldiers from this unit, including Wiesław Serwatka, Jacek Neumann and Artur Mawrzym, are exercising the functions of authorized representatives--commissioners of the KCK [National Defense Committee] in the gminas assigned to them. They act decisively and correctly, thanks to their earlier recognition of the problems of life in those localities. They are conscientiously and energetically eliminating irregularities from the operations of the administration, trade and other production and cooperative organizations in the countryside.

Checking the implementation of the recommendations and proposals from the first stage of local activities of the operational groups, the military commissioners from the railroad unit have found many cases of measures not undertaken locally in gminas or low effectiveness of measures taken. Therefore, guided by their concern for the well-being of the rural society, they began proposals on recalling several gmina chiefs and presidents and directors from their positions. There is no place, and there cannot be any place under martial law, for incompetence and unconcern. People who are irresponsible and insensitive must leave and suffer their deserved consequences.

The military subunits of the military railroad battalion remaining in the garrison are guarding warehouses and military installations. The women and children of career military personnel have remained, just as at all times during practical training. Since the majority of the wives and mothers work, the expansion of preschool care has been considered. A center has been organized for elementary school children in the soldiers' club. Much effort in the preparation and realization of a program of leisure activity during the time of the unplanned winter holidays, is being exerted by party activist Senior Warrant Officer Bernard Typiak and workers of the ORW [Military Dependents Organization] circle, including Jadwiga Pawłowska and Ewa Krulikiewicz.

Something has also been done about other forms of aid to the working wives and mothers of the military railroad personnel. Aid groups in the unit are concerned with facilitating the needed purchase of food and controlled health and hygiene substances. An active part in the organization of this help is being taken, among other people, by Senior Warrant Officer Zdzislaw Kogut. The workers' canteen, which is headed by Zofia Lyczewska, is also operating properly.

In the Naval Shipyard

In spite of the extraordinary situation resulting from the institution of martial law, production in the Navy Shipyards imiona Dabrowszczakow has not deteriorated. Shipyard workers of the navy are coping fully with this emergency situation. The personnel have subordinated themselves to the obligatory orders, restrictions and limitations.

Although it is difficult to become accustomed to the new, extraordinary situation, the shipyard workers have shown a great spirit of citizenship from the first working day after the declaration of martial law and are working devotedly. They know that the country needs peace and devoted labor; in addition to that, they recognize that the high state of military readiness of the naval forces and the production of many plants with which coproduction contracts have been made, depend upon their work.

A significant portion of their production is earmarked for the national economy. For example, a brigade leader, Stanislaw Gliniski, along with his colleagues, is working on the completion of two deep-digging excavators for the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials. Henryk Papka is working in the metalworking department on rings for coal pulverizers for the Tri-city Thermal Electric Power Station. Another member of this department is finishing a consignment of ship screws for the Szczecin Ship Repair Yard and elements for ship power plants. In the hull department, the subforeman of the prefabrication section, Josef Sadowski, is preparing elements for new hulls. The following are working especially devotedly in this crew: Marek Szczepanski, plate shears operator, and Stanislaw Krol, brigade leader. Other shipyard workers are preparing for the acceptance tests of the tugboat AMON for the Czeczecin Port Administration and are doing repair work on naval units along with sailors.

In addition, the shipyard is preparing complex castings resistant to high pressure for the national economy. This work is accompanied by a good atmosphere created, among other things, by the rapid and honest information on the current situation. The shipyard management, the party activists, and the youth group members have their own important part in this. This is also fostered by good work organization.

In spite of many difficulties from the lack of raw materials, they are trying not to interrupt production, although in many cases they can only rely on themselves. One example of this is the substitution of "butapren" adhesive with adhesive produced according to an in-house formula. As Waldemar Klimcz, ME, head director of the Naval Shipyard asserted, this adhesive has good qualities as the factory one.

The Naval Shipyard imiona Dabrowszczakow is finishing its assignment for this year and is fulfilling its coproduction contracts on schedule.

Poznan Tank Personnel

The demands of martial law have postponed programmed training in the Higher Tank Troop Officers School for later, quieter times. The absolute necessity for defending the socialist state structure, the assurance of the possibility of a peaceful life and creative work to the whole of society, and the need for firm counteraction to the forces leading the homeland to the verge of disaster, made it absolutely necessary for the entire cadet community to carry out tasks of a special nature today. These tasks are more difficult than usual and are much more demanding than those placed before them a week earlier.

In the same way as their colleagues from the other military schools, they were selected to guard and protect the installation of primary importance for Poznan and environs. Many joined the intervention groups, and still others were assigned to carry out order-keeping duties within motorized and foot patrols. Officer candidates of all class years and all specialties are serving in them together with career and basic service soldiers. All deserve the highest recognition and respect for their work, willingness to sacrifice and overall discipline. Among those who have especially distinguished themselves, one should mention Lt Jerzy Golianek; Cadet Sgt Leszek Biela was pointed out by the school commander for vigilance displayed in guarding military installations from penetration.

This characteristic, always necessary but today especially desired, is typified not only by the tank personnel. For we regularly receive that same information from other units as well, from different branches of the armed forces. Most recently, for example, Air Force soldiers--Senior Sgt Edward Gola, and Senior Sgt Wangelys Czukamares--decisively and effectively frustrated an attempt to photograph and film an important military installation by West German citizens--the representatives of a firm that provides food aid to our country.

The cadets sent to local gmina operating groups fulfill their duties with equal conscientiousness and involvement. Cadet Sgt Tadeusz Wojcik--together with other soldiers--is operating, for example, in the Lublin area; Cadet Sgt Piotr Goscinski, in Wloclawek; Cadet Sgt Mircelaw Potrowski, in Gorzow Wielkopolski; Cadet Sgt Jerry Wilk, in Rzeszow; Cadet Sgt Krzysztof Kosiel, in Elblag. The rest are in Lomza, Bialystok, Kierniewicy, Zamosc, Kradow, Leszno and other localities. During this exceptionally difficult time, they are supervising and helping the activity of local government and administrative branches, and are rushing all-around aid and military aid needed today to the citizens, together with the military commissioners--authorized representatives of the National Defense Committee.

For this help in thousands of matters, they are receiving the genuine gratitude and recognition of the people. Many manifestations of sincere sympathy are also encountered here in Poznan. The street patrol service, day and night in the biting frost, is difficult, demanding. City residents esteem their patriotic work as citizens. The soldiers return the favors to the extent possible. For example, yesterday, without waiting for other help, they transported a sick child to a hospital in an armored vehicle. The people know that they can count on the help of the army, any time and in any situation.

All are shocked by the tragic incidents in the "Wujek" Coal Mine. They know, however, that in the situation, law and order forces could not act differently. "So that similar tragedies cannot recur," they say, "it is necessary more resolutely than ever to counteract the ringleaders of disturbances, the true cause of the people's misfortune. The necessity for this is unequivocally dictated by our common national interest, by the concern that every Polish family can again feel completely secure. All those guilty of the current disastrous situation must absolutely and immediately suffer the appropriate punishment, as ordered by social justice. As soldiers of the Polish Peoples' Army," they emphasize, "we are executing the tasks placed before us and are doing all we can for the good of the fatherland."

9908

CSO: 2600/172

ACTIVITIES OF TERRITORIAL OPERATIONAL GROUPS REPORTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Maj Janusz Borkowski: "Holding the Gmina Accountable"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Authorities in Sochaczew operate from the same building, gmina [parish] authorities from the first floor and city authorities from the floor above. Crowded offices attest to how much the citizens need their attention. People come with various matters convinced that they can be successfully solved. In recent weeks, this conviction has begun turning into confidence when it has turned out that, due to the activity of military operational teams, the work of the local administration has gone into a higher gear.

In the gmina administration office, several persons are waiting for their problems to be solved. An officer steps out of one of the rooms. At once he is stopped by a young woman:

--Major, I am going to get married during the holidays. Can I have a reception after the wedding, will it violate currently effective regulations?

--Maybe, you officer can help me, sir--one of the men says to the major. I live with my wife at my in-laws' place. My mother-in-law would not agree to register my arrival in her house. Earlier, I lived in Konstancin, in a house that was designated to be dismantled. It has been dismantled, and here I am out in the cold. How am I to cut this Gordian knot?

On a Beaten Path

Major Tadeusz Ostrowski, the plenipotentiary-commissioner of the National Defense Committee assigned to the administrator of the Sochaczew parish, hears many such questions every day. The uniform seems to act like a magnet, it attracts persons who view the representatives of the army as people who can solve virtually everything.

--When I was in command of the operational team in the territory of this parish, I initially tried to explain to the customers that the army does not replace local authorities, that all matters are still considered by the proper officials. That was to no avail. I referred the citizens to respective sections of the

office. It is the same way now, while martial law is in effect. Of course, in some cases, when the powers of the parish administrator are not adequate, I have to make appropriate decisions myself.

The Major and his deputy, Maj Tadeusz Puchala, are intimately knowledgeable about the numerous problems pervading the village. A package of motions and recommendations to the parish authorities for implementation was the result of their fact-finding mission. Many of those have already been or are in the process of being implemented, the two officers stress. Undoubtedly, the attitude of the parish authorities who treated the officers' suggestions earnestly, accepting them as guidelines in the near future, have had a lot to do with this state of affairs.

Among the matters for immediate consideration, straightening out the activities of the mechanical services center of the local SKR [Agricultural Circles' Cooperative] and the Cooperative of Municipal Transportation were mentioned. The commissioner is just going out to inspect the fulfillment of recommendations that were made earlier. Manager of the service center Bogusław Krakowiak welcomes Maj Ostrowski much like a good friend.

--Oh, major, you dropped by once again, sir. As you can see, we have done a lot. Well, not everything could be put in perfect order.

--Indeed! The improvement is obvious. Agricultural implements have been well taken care of and are in their proper places. However, I still have some remarks to make about fire security. These drums of gasoline cannot just sit here close to the building, without protection. They should be quickly removed from here to a proper place.

It turns out there have been many more remarks concerning the work of the center's labor force. They were made with regard to labor discipline and care for the machinery currently under repair.

At the same time, appreciable improvement in order of the rural transportation pool resulted in the commissioner's approval. In accordance with the decree on the introduction of martial law, the pool has been militarized. As manager Stanisław Krzeminski stated, the work force took up discharging their responsibilities under new circumstances with understanding and solemnity. Everybody is working selflessly, despite known difficulties caused by the lack of spare parts and tires for delivery vans.

Labor discipline has also improved appreciably. The inspection of the [motor] pool by the major has shown a radical improvement in vehicle management, their maintenance, etc.

The major's subordinate will pay similar visits to other sections of the economic administration to check on how the tasks set by the territorial operational team have been put into practice. The soldiers will follow a beaten path which they have marked for themselves by pointing out negligence and shortcomings in the parish economy.

Food Supply--The Most Important Issue

The problem of streamlining the procurement of grain, milk, and slaughter cattle is among the many problems solved by the commissioner together with the parish administrator. This issue has been designated priority by the local party echelons. A voluntary action of pledging excess foodstuffs that can be delivered to procurement centers has been carried out in the last 4 days among the producers. Employees of agricultural service, village administrators, officials, and teachers have been drawn into the action.

I would like to point out--says the parish administrator Janusz Kolba--that a great majority of peasants showed full understanding for the appeal of the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, General of Army Wojciech Jaruzelski on extending aid in foodstuffs to the urban population and on forming ties between the city and the countryside. A concrete manifestation of this attitude is the quantity of crops and meat supplies which will be delivered to procurement points within the next week. Results of additional deliveries are significant if compared with the opportunities of this parish which invariably exceeds plans [of deliveries]. Indeed, the farmers have voluntarily pledged deliveries of 83 tons of grain, 790 porkers, and 174 head of cattle. /This will allow the parish to ensure full coverage of ration-card needs of its inhabitants, especially with regard to meat./ The situation is similar with regard to milk. Deliveries of milk, according to the assurances given by producers, will provide enough to increase the milk supplies by about 8 to 10 percent of the amount supplied so far.

It also turns out that martial law and the rigorousness of this law make it possible to find a way around many strange, sometimes almost impracticable regulations. That was the case when the commissioner and the parish administrator jointly made a decision on introducing current contract sign-on for agricultural products effective December 17. There have already been first results. Farmer Lucjan Wezowski said he had 20 porkers for procurement, however, he had no opportunity to deliver them to a procurement center. The decision in this case was to dispatch a truck immediately to pick up the porkers. They are already in the stockyard.

The Problems Solved

The first days and hours the major was active in the capacity of the plenipotentiary-commissioner of the National Defense Committee have also allowed him to evaluate the fulfillment of an array of measures by the parish authorities they were charged to implement. According to the estimate by Maj Ostrowski, several basic measures have either been implemented or are in advanced stages of implementation.

Improvement in the organization and management of activities of the parish office is considerable. The personnel have been thoroughly instructed on their responsibilities within their jurisdiction. In the estimation of customers, current visits to the parish office are shorter. Farmers, who constitute the majority of applicants, now have more opportunities to mind their own stores and do not waste time waiting at the doors of offices.

The issue of supplying residential coal and coal for agricultural production has also been solved. Distribution of fertilizers and other means of agricultural production will also not be a bother for producers. The farmers, however, stipulate that sales of certain types of fodder in exchange for grain be introduced immediately. This issue will be considered and appropriate decisions made within a few days.

Issues associated with the distribution of construction materials have aroused keen interest among the rural population. The commissioner has noticed a marked improvement in this area as well. As a result of intervention by the military operational teams, the farmers have received the necessary amount of these materials. For example, Janusz Wojnowski from the village of Nowe Mostki obtained asbestos-cement roofing material, bricks, lime, and cement needed to construct farm buildings and housing. The needs of Ryszard Strzelczyk from Rodozlow and Sabina Zielinska from Feliksow have also been met.

Preparations of the municipal economy for combatting the consequences of winter are also up to par. By a decision of the parish administrator, a necessary quantity of SKR tractors equipped with snow plows has been assigned to snow removal, an emergency crew has been selected from the personnel of the Area Civil Defense Unit commanded by Lieutenant (Reserves) Jan Szczepanski.

Currently, the plenipotentiary-commissioner of KOK (National Defense Committee) together with other soldiers are busy checking the system to provide rural shops with foodstuffs and popular consumer goods. The agricultural service has been ordered to draw up an inventory of machinery and equipment held by farmers. It has also been recommended that the production potential of agriculture in the parish be analyzed. This will enable spring work in agriculture to be started based on a complete knowledge of assets and means of production. This knowledge accumulated ahead of time will ensure the full use of agricultural lands.

9761

CSO: 2600/183

ZBOWID ACTIVITIES, CHANGES DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZA WOLNOSCI LUD in Polish No 47, 21 Nov 81 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Wlodzimierz Sokorski, chairman of ZBoWiD /Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy/, by Bohdan Rostropowicz; date and place not specified/

[Text] [Question] Mr Chairman, for over a year, ZBoWiD has been working in a new situation in the country, and you have been chairman of the organization's Main Board. How would you characterize the new processes in the organization, which one could call socialist renewal? From time to time, one could meet with the view that nothing has changed in our organization nor would it change. The editorial office for that matter--on the basis of its own experience--has a different feeling; sometimes there are calls for renewal, but things do not always change for the better. How do you see this problem?

[Answer] The changes during the past year can be classified into two main issues: 1) structural issues and 2) verification issues. On the basis of various resolutions passed by the Main Board concerning the vertical structure (circles, neighborhood boards, urban boards, voivodship boards and the main board), a horizontal structure has developed (clubs, community-type commissions, voivodship community-type commissions and national community-type commissions). The first fulfills normal, statutory requirements (e.g., conducts elections, collects dues, presents awards and conducts the activities of such commissions as historical, youth, social and informational), while the second inspires comradeship, discusses community problems, cultivates the communities' historical traditions, protects the communities and announces the various conclusions made by voivodship boards and the Main Board. A similar arrangement results from our union's traditions: Polish soldiers fighting for Poland in various military formations and on various fronts, from the large number of former Nazi concentration camp prisoners living in Poland, fighters in the underground and participants in a wide array of uprisings beginning with those in Silesia and Great Poland, as well as in the Warsaw Uprisings, and ending with those Poles who participated in the Spanish Civil War, and also those who fought in the Soviet and Yugoslav Armies.

Thanks to the integration of ZBoWiD on the basis of the communities' existence and respect, it possesses lasting characteristics that strengthen our unity even in such a difficult period as now. On the other hand, all existing anticomunity phobias facilitate anti-integrational activities, weaken unity, give back in fact the field

to opponents of a common ZBoWiD organization and weaken arguments regarding unity, which is the condition required so that ZBoWiD can retain its character as an integral part of the Front for National Understanding, and so that it can arrange such a fantastic issue like the Combatant's Charter, which should be the principal resolution regarding the rights and privileges of those who fought for national and societal liberation.

Within this question are the problems of verification, expressed in a new interpretation, supported by recent regulations. The new interpretation, already manifested, considers our difficult historical problems, experiences from the Occupation and battles on various fronts, the post-occupational period when there was a civil war, rehabilitation processes that exiated guilt and punishment, participation of Poles who signed the volkslist in the Soviet and Allied Armies and active participation in maintaining the people's authority. New conclusions also ensue from the broadened list of concentration camps and adolescent participation in the underground (officially from age 14) or in individual cases (e.g., the Vistula Boys, Boy Scouts from the Fourth Uprising in Silesia, the Zamosc children from age 12). As regards the multitude of complex issues and numerous revocations that the team cannot consider, ZBoWiD's Main Board was called to order by the Main Board's Revocation Commission, whose decisions, after confirmation by the Main Board's Secretariat, have a final character. There were almost 1,500 such issues last year; further events confirm the need to maintain the existing structure. The Verification Commission's Mutual Presidium of the Main Board and Revocation Commission guarantee impartiality of decisions and eliminate quarrels regarding competence in continually very difficult issues.

[Question] During this past year, ZBoWiD's Main Board returned to the issue of the Combatant's Charter. It has provoked widespread interest in the fighters' community, which is evident from the number of letters not only to our editorial staff but also to the Main Board. Many diverse opinions and views are expressed in these letters. What are the charter's real chances? How is a more concrete aspect of the charter taking place? Supposedly there is even a draft for the charter. Will it be widely discussed with the voivodship boards and circles within ZBoWiD? if so, when? Questions like these also are coming from the field. People also have inquired at the last plenary meeting of the Main Board.

[Answer] The draft for the combatant's charter already exists. It encompasses all existing acts dealing with combatants; it is thus something like the Main Resolution that broadens considerably the privileges of people from the community. The Combatant's Charter is concerned with the area of political authorizations; e.g., the issue of our organization's participation in the Front for National Understanding, in elections to the Sejm and national councils, in the resolution of social, pension and retirement issues and in the establishment of their level of payments, with an annual supplement due to the higher cost of living. The combatant's Charter also deals with the problems of the war crippled, issues of rate reductions for trains and buses for all combatants, rate reductions for the urban communications network, no payments for use of radio and television, and social care checked by the field administrative organ. There are also apartment issues (changes), coal for winter, sanatoriums, rest homes for combatants and other organizations throughout the field. The final draft, already discussed in the Office of the Council of Ministers, will be discussed at a meeting of the Main Board's Presidium on 3 December 1981, sent into the field

for general discussion and then accepted at the next meeting of the Main Board's Presidium. From there, it will be sent to the government and transferred to the Sejm, which, according to our initial discussions, should ratify it during the spring session.

[Question] There are pervasive beliefs that the vast majority of the combatants' environment is in a bad state; e.g., the means for maintaining a large number of combatants are at a level much lower than the social minimum, not to mention average payments, retirement and pensions. What specifically is ZBoWiD doing to change this worsening state of affairs? After all, from social, moral and political viewpoints, such a situation is unacceptable.

[Answer] First, ZBoWiD has proposed the Combatant's Charter. Second, we have received a 200-million-zloty grant-in-aid from Premier Gen Jaruzelski for one-time assistance for those combatants most in need--the war crippled. Third, we are trying to establish a special combatant's medal, which would entitle the combatant to a supplement to his pension--let's say 1000 zlotys--with the exception, of course, of those already decorated. This assistance will entitle combatants needing assistance to obtain coal and supplements, issues that concern the premier.

[Question] Much controversy in our union concerns the issue of verification. Some even say--especially as regards the Combatant's Charter--that new verification should be introduced. Among these controversial issues are whether people in the reactionary underground should be admitted to ZBoWiD and whether the scope of combatants' rights should be broadened to include people who lived through all forms of Nazi suppression (e.g., police camps, temporary camps, prisons, arrests, etc.)--and not just concentration camps. Do you anticipate some form of new verification?

[Answer] We shall not introduce new verification; it is not needed and in effect is deceptive. On the other hand, in light of the new interpretation--as already discussed--we can, and shall, daily verify each new issue as the need arises.

[Question] The issue of decorations gives rise to a wide array of objections. These concern, among others, a rather protracted rate for awarding the decorations, nonacceptance of all ZBoWiD members to that right--decorated fighters--verification of military honors granted by AK, PSZ in the West and so on. Also at issue is the fact that at the current speed for giving out decorations (the medal "For Participation in the War of Defense--1939" and the Warsaw Uprising Cross), those combatants entitled to receive them last would get them after the year 2000--and most will have died. What are your views on this issue? What can be done and what is being done, to satisfy the community in this regard?

[Answer] This year we shall award twice as many decorations as last year. Likewise, the Main Board's Commission for Decorations and the Office for Combatants' Affairs are working very intensively on this matter, the same as the Council of State. Not everyone can nor should receive a decoration. We intend to solve this problem by issuing a special medal, as already mentioned. For the Warsaw Uprising Cross, we have a special commission with Gen Jan Radoslaw-Mazurkiewicz as chairman. A different commission is working to award the medal "For Participation in the War of Defense--1939."

Both matters should be completely finished within 2 to 3 years. We have treated the Warsaw Uprising Cross separately, as it is a special issue. The Cross should be given posthumously or to Poles living abroad, but only to those who took an active part in the Uprising, even if they are not members of ZBoWiD. But they all must have the combatant's qualifications. This is a specification of the community. Let us add that in accordance with the statute creating the cross, ZBoWiD has the exclusive right to introduce petitions to the Council of State; the commission must have special people fully representative of the Uprising community, whether or not they belong to ZBoWiD. In 1946, a special resolution was passed to strip Polish citizenship from officers and generals living abroad. Both the act annulling the previous decision and the recent decision by the Main Board's Presidium to call for a Commission on Matters concerning the Warsaw Uprising Cross are moves to integrate the combatant community into the structure of the Polish People's Republic, constitution and other laws.

[Question] An issue agitating the community of former Nazi political prisoners is that of reparations from the German Federal Republic. Above all, this concerns the disbursement of 100 million deutsche marks earmarked for those who suffered through pseudomedical experiments. As stated, either a good share of the money went to people who had no right to it, or much of it never was disbursed. Can you elaborate on these points?

[Answer] As regards the issue of reparations for those who suffered through pseudomedical experiments, the Council of Ministers requires that as of 1 November 1981, a new commission will be called, in which representatives from the former Nazi prison community will take part. Work on initial findings is scheduled for completion 1 June 1982. The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare has issued a communique published in the press on 7-8 November (1981).

[Question] It seems that the union's current social and organizational problems have somewhat shaded its ideal-behavioral function, especially concerning the younger generation. This has provoked justifiable unrest among numerous union activists. What do you think?

[Answer] The life of meritorious commissions in the face of strong action on the part of the community has weakened somewhat. It is not a healthy phenomenon, especially regarding widespread ideological confusion concerning our history. The calling of a small, ideological commission by the Main Board, and also of a commission for science and culture, would be in order. We have very active members in the universities and in the Polish Academy of Sciences, most never utilized. This problem also can be found in our writings.

[Question] How do you view the role of ZBoWiD as regards cooperation with combatants' organizations abroad? Is it developing or has it stagnated?

[Answer] We maintain very active combatants' contacts both with the Soviet Committee of War Veterans and the Yugoslav SUBNOR (we have recently signed a new cooperative agreement) and with combatants' groups from other socialist countries. We have recently renewed contacts with Polish emigres; an example is our participation at a combatants' congress in Belgium.

[Question] What is your view on the actual state of integrating the numerous ZBoWiD members? Inherent here is the question of controversial views. There are many tendencies toward disintegration; other combatants' groups like "Solidarity" arise next to ZBoWiD. Therefore, must you deepen the union's integration process?

[Answer] Disintegrating phenomena exist not within our organization but rather on the outside, among so-called combatants in "Solidarity." This is a political phenomenon, not a combatant's one. This does not threaten our organization with a breakdown, but it is harmful by disseminating misinformation, confusion and illusions as to the implementation of demands, which only ZBoWiD has the legal right to do, as in the issue of the combatant's Charter. Solidarity contains people who have no combatants rights, but rather have been in conflict with the combatants' community for many years. One cannot but judge their harmfulness and disintegrating role. After the last changes in our organization, each honest Polish combatant can find his place in it and recognition for his activity.

[Question] One final question is: How do you see the actual position of ZBoWiD in society? Is it an ally of PZPR? How do you see its role in the Front for National Understanding, which is supposed to develop?

[Answer] During the last year on the basis of widespread renewal, ZBoWiD's position has grown considerably and become stronger. Its activities have acquired concrete results. ZBoWiD is like one of one hundred thousand convinced that its role will continue to grow.

[Question] Thank you for the discussion.

9807

CSO: 2600/94

MILITARY MEN APPOINTED VOIVODSHIP GOVERNORS

Katowice, Elblag, Koszalin, Radom

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 16 Dec 81 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Maj Gen R. Paszkowski Appointed Governor of Katowice Voivodship"]

[Text] Effective December 15, 1981, the chairman of the Council of Ministers removed the following persons from their positions as governors of their respective voivodships for improper performance of their duties: Zdzislaw Olszewski, Elblag; Henryk Lichos, Katowice; Jan Urbanowicz, Koszalin; and Feliks Wojtkun, Radom.

Effective December 16, 1981, the chairman of the Council of Ministers made the following appointments:

- Maj Gen Roman Paszkowski to the position of governor of the Katowice voivodship;
- Col Ryszard Urlinski to governor of the Elblad voivodship;
- Col Zdzislaw Mazurkiewicz to governor of the Koszalin voivodship; and
- Col Alojzy Wojciechowski to governor of the Radom voivodship.

The new Katowice governor, Maj Gen (pilot) Roman Paszkowski was born in 1914 in Bulow (Siedlce voivodship) to a peasant family. In 1939 he fought against the Nazis and was a prisoner of war during the occupation. After liberation, he graduated from the Main School for the Foreign Service and the Polish Army General Staff Academy. From 1945 to 1951 and since 1951 he has served in the Polish People's Army. While in service he held command positions in the National Air Defense Force, including the position of commander of this force. He was the Polish People's Republic's ambassador in England from 1976 to 1980.

He is a member of the PZPR.

The Governor of the Elblag Voivodship

Col Ryszard Urlinski, the newly appointed governor of Elblag was born in 1924 in Prostyn (Siedlce voivodship) to a white-collar family. He began his professional career in 1941 in the Bridge Construction Plant in Malkina. In 1944 he enlisted

in the Polish People's Army where he graduated from the Artillery Officers School and then the Polish Army General Staff Academy. He held many command posts in the Army, including that of commander of the Higher Missile and Artillery Officers School.

He is a member of the PZPR.

The Governor of the Koszalin Voivodship

The governor of Koszalin, Col Zdzislaw Mazurkiewicz, was born in 1924 in Chelm. His father was a craftsman. He has served in the Polish People's Army since 1944. He graduated from the Artillery Officers School, the Artillery Command School and the General Staff Academy in the Soviet Union. His military assignments include the position of division commander and chief of the Anti-aircraft Defense Forces of the Warsaw Military District. Since 1968 he has been the deputy chief of those Forces.

He is a member of the PZPR.

The Governor of the Radom Voivodship

Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, appointed to his new position yesterday, was born in 1927 in Zbaszyn. His father was a railroad worker. He has been in the Polish People's Army since 1948. He graduated from the Military Technical Academy in Warsaw with a degree in mechanical engineering. His military assignments have included various positions in the technical services. Since 1976 he has been deputy chief of the tank-vehicle service.

He is a member of the PZPR.

Katowice Governor Meets Miners

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 19 Dec 81, pp 1, 2

[Article by Jerzy Bieronski and Jozef Janik: "A Soldier's Frank Talk With the Miners"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The meeting of Maj Gen (pilot) Roman Paszkowski, Katowice Governor, with miners of the "Gen Zawadzki" Mine.

The first meeting between the governor-general and the "Gen Zawadzki" miners was succinct and military. It took place without any official formalities, artificial barriers, or any kind of division. From the first words spoken by Maj Gen (pilot) Paszkowski, an atmosphere of frankness and direct dialogue prevailed. The governor said:

"I came so that we could look each other frankly in the eyes. As soldiers and as miners. As people who fought for the independence of People's Poland, for its freedom and sovereignty, and as those who, in the rebuilding of Poland after the terrible destruction of war, made and continue to make, the greatest contribution. The soldiers' and miners' intentions always were, and are, pure.

Calm in our family home, in our People's Fatherland, has always been of the utmost importance to us and to you.

Our meeting, taking place in a state of martial law, when a general is talking with a miner, is extremely important, actually symbolic. A meeting at a time when we are both worried, concerned about how to protect the Fatherland from the most terrible tragedy. What we should do, so that there would be the least number of victims, so that calm and order would prevail in our country as quickly as possible.

I say to you sincerely, as a Pole and as a general in the Polish Army, that the decisions of the Military Council for National Salvation are the choice of the lesser evil, in the danger that threatens the nation and the Fatherland. If General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski had not decided as he did, it would have been much worse. The situation was exceptional and we had to immediately do what history will certainly judge to have been fair. There was no other way out. The strict discipline of martial law is a necessity of life.

I do not conceal the fact that the situation in Katowice at this time is difficult. Not all of the fires of conflict have been extinguished. In this struggle for power, which for the counterrevolutionists, the enemies of Poland, is lost, and had to be lost, the Katowice voivodship still has some trouble spots. The tragedy in the "Wujek" Mine, which we soldiers and miners both are living through, was not necessary. Truly, it did not have to happen.

I want to assure you as a soldier and an officer, as a governor at the order of our prime minister, that we are doing and will continue to do everything necessary so that there will be no more victims, so that the use of force will not be necessary, so that we can jointly solve even the most difficult problems by means of persuasion, mutual understanding and agreement. In this spirit and on those matters, on December 17th I talked with the bishop of the Katowice diocese, the Most Reverend Bishop Dr Herbert Bednorz.

I came to you because I am familiar with the intelligence and good work of the workforce of your mine, which bears the name of the first general-governor of our voivodship, Aleksander Zawadzki. I do not say that I know it well because I have been here only for the "Barborka" [miners' holiday]. It was during the time that I commanded a unit in the Katowice voivodship. From those meetings I developed a feeling and a respect for you and your work. And so I come to you as an old soldier, whose subordinates and comrades also defend the Silesian Coal Basin, who work here. Who today, like very soldier, hasten with help. Fate, a general's order, sent me to the Katowice voivodship at a time of high significance for Poland. I want very much to do as much as possible here. The first and most important duty that I have set and will continue to set, is that there will be no shooting. Second, no billy clubs will be used. Third, to improve supplies. After these three duties are performed, the time will come to resolutely put our political, social and economic life in order, to determine how, in a measurable and significant way, to look after the protection of the community, the local living conditions of the hardworking people. I am already making decisions, along with staff decisions, to clear the path for the stabilization and development of the Silesia Coal Basin.

In this complex, fraught-with-danger situation, I talk to you frankly, in a soldier-like way. Sitting with you is a Polish general who grew up in this nation, who knows its faults and virtues and who just as fervently as you desires that the Fatherland, so bitterly taught by history, protect itself against mortal dangers, bloodshed, that it regain calm and security, its rightful dignity in Europe and in the world, and the confidence of its friends and allies."/

After the Katowice governor's statement, the meeting, in which the underground miners, the members of the mine management and inspection, and representatives of all departments, sections and services, took part, took on the character of a miners' gripe session. The statements of the participants are brief, talking about the work in the mine but also about all the complaints not only of the "General Zawadzki" workforce, but of all of mining, about everything which in normal life is most disturbing to both the miners as well as their mothers and wives.

During All of the Days of Martial Law We are Extracting Normally

Mirosław Januszek--foreman of the hauling department says:

-- Our mine is working well. During all of the days of martial law we have mined normally. In accordance with the plan. Sometimes we throw in a few additional tons of coal, but with us that has been normal for a long time. We would like very much to have these shortages of various kinds of spare parts, particularly those little ones, all these different kinds of terminals and screws, end and never return. These cheap but indispensable pieces, that are easy to produce but which we never get in sufficient quantity but nobody wants to produce because they find them unprofitable. Yet these shortages have plagued the miners for years.

Kazimierz Motloch--said: We believe that every ton of coal is important, but we believe also that the miners' shower-rooms should be painted also, so that the rooms will be clean. Yet for a year and a half our building department has not obtained a drop of solvent. The constant lack of materials makes it difficult to repair the social building and miners' family quarters of which there are still so many in Dąbrowa Górnicza and in the entire voivodship.

--We would like once and for all to see an end to the cursed evasion and bending of the law, so that everyone, from miner to minister and premier, be subject to the same criteria of evaluation of work and conduct, that good work be honored and rewarded equally for everyone. We would like to see an end to the humiliating begging for all kinds of spare parts for combines or timbering. This bribery and corruption, this barter and exchange of goods--added Krzysztof Majda, manager of the hydraulic power department, as if in continuation of the preceding comments. The supply services should do a good job of what they are supposed to do, and not conduct all kinds of gymnastics and acrobatics in order to get something done somewhere.

--Our wives are tired of standing in queues and their hands are reaching the ground from carrying, sometimes for entire kilometers, often even bread which is not available near the home. The streetcar or bus, instead of every few minutes, comes once an hour or not at all. I am not saying this to complain, but I would like the comrade-governor to know what is so keenly disturbing the miners and their wives. A miner, in order to work well, must eat, said Eugeniusz Wilczek, an underground wireman.

Bronislaw Mirowski, carpenter, and Henryk Chalczynski, manager of the self-defense unit, brought up the problem of the functioning of the streetcars and buses in the city and in the voivodship, which is bad. They proposed that the Voivodship Transportation Enterprise (WPK) drivers be paid not by the hour but by the number of trips and their punctuality. Then, for sure, it would change for the better. And perhaps some military men should be put in charge of the WPK and the individual car barns.

We Will Get Rid of the Incompetents

Here the general-governor interrupts:

/--Today you read in the press the first and not-at-all short list of dismissals, I want to assure you that we will get rid of the incompetents, those who are not doing their job. We will rigorously and resolutely put the cadre situation in the voivodship in order, for we know very well that a great deal depends on this.

Others who take the floor: Marian Augustyn, manager of the Miner's Home, Henryk Wojcik, ironworker in the mechanical department, and engineer Stefan Noszczyk. The meeting lasts an hour and a half. Seventeen miners speak out, some two or three times. They give the governor a comprehensive picture of the situation in this well-operating mine. They point out the problems that are most important for all of mining, including the lack of protective clothing, the lack of insulated shoes for winters, the lack of spare parts. They talk also about the problems that arose as a result of martial law. For example, the inability of the mines to make quick contact with the power plants. And this cannot be allowed to go on because proper ventilation and functioning of the shafts is involved, the dewatering of the mines, and everything that goes into what is most important in mining--work safety. There are also the questions that are of vital interest to all of us: How long will the state of martial law last, when, finally, will the country's indebtedness end, as well as this begging. And also such questions as will the miners living in hotels be able to go their families for the holidays, and even whether there will be something with which to raise a toast on Christmas Eve.

The General Replied Frankly

He did not ignore any matter. "Everything depends on us. Everything depends on whether there will be calm and safety in the Fatherland, on how and when we are able to extinguish both the flames of conflict and their embers. The upheaval will end only when we are all working, when the military return to their barracks, when conditions exist for the democratization of life in our country, which was begun so decisively, for the application of reform, including economic reform. The army does not wish and has no intent to rule. It is here in the cities simply and only to avert the mortal peril threatening the Fatherland. Simply and only so that our nation can live, work and develop normally.

And still some more brief decisions: Tomorrow a military operational group will come here to jointly with the miners consider what should be changed in trade, how to make transportation more efficient, how to improve supplies--how these difficulties that are so very troubling for the workforce and the dwellers of Dabrowa Gornicza can be alleviated.

I will make a study of the matters pertaining to the mine and mining in general, and will send it to the Minister of Mining. What I accomplish you will see for yourself, you will see it in practice. What I cannot accomplish I will come to you and explain why certain problems have not yet been completely solved, problems we talked about today. I am not promising you anything beyond this, for that would not be in keeping with my character. I repeat: I accepted with a sense of enormous responsibility but also with great satisfaction the nomination for governor of the Katowice Region, which certainly has meant and continues to mean so much to the country, and on whom so much depends./

During his visit at the "Gen Zawadzki" Mine, the Katowice Governor, Maj Gen Roman Paszkowski sincerely thanked the workforce for their timely accomplishment of tasks, for their understanding, expressed in solid work, of the complex situation of the country, which always, and today especially, needs coal so badly, the main wealth of the Silesian Basin.

Katowice Governor Discusses Supplies

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22 Dec 81 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Trade Consists of More than Just Deliveries"; conversations between the governor of Katowice and shop customers in Bytom-Szombierk; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The people stand in queues. Food supplies during the pre-holiday period are somewhat better than during the previous weeks but still not enough to eliminate the annoyance of the queues. What can be done to minimize the difficulties that this causes? The answer to this question was sought yesterday in Bytom and in Katowice./

The Katowice Governor, Maj Gen (pilot) Roman Paszkowski, after talks in the Town Administration in Bytom with Mayor Pawel Spyra and first secretary of the PZPR Town Committee, Boleslaw Skotnicki, concerning living conditions for the town dwellers, visited shops in the working city district of Szombierk. The customers spoke of the most serious shortages: eggs, potato flour, sausages, alcohol, sweets, and lard. Some of these articles are still due to reach the shops today.

/The supply situation in Bytom is really not different than in the rest of the voivodship. This was indicated at the meeting, organized in the voivodship office, of the Katowice governor with the directors of all the centers responsible for supplying the people with everything from bread to coal./

From the information given here, it appears that basically deliveries of food to the voivodship actually conform to the distribution lists, however they deviate greatly from the needs, particularly as concerns cheese, eggs, partially milk and fats, for which the demand is tremendous. It was indicated that some producers, e.g., from the Czestochowa voivodship, were not supplying the agreed-upon amounts of milk, and others were not supplying cheese.

/But the coverage of meat ration cards for December looks optimistic./ The larger supplies, as can be seen in the shops, can be attributed to such factors as imports, more efficient transfers from other regions and domestic procurement. Although it is true that there is not a full selection, especially of top-quality meats and sausages, still basic needs can be met.

/The sale of carp is going well./ Seventy percent of the holiday deliveries are made through the work plants. And it is they who should as quickly as possible pick up their allotments so that there should be no concern or disruption in sales. Because the fish is here. The fresh fish will go the retail trade and for the unrationed sales, while the frozen imported fish will go to the restaurants.

/Actually, the deliveries of animal fats are the most difficult problem/ and there is no certainty that ration-card sales this month will be fully implemented. The Katowice governor will intervene at the top level in this matter.

/There should be no shortage of poultry/, for a decision was made to increase supplies.

The efficient functioning of trade does not consist of deliveries alone. /When conditions are difficult, efficient organization also brings relief to the purchasers./ That is why the management and staff of shops, mainly meat and dairy-products, have been required to open their shops in accordance with the shop-opening hours, regardless whether the goods have arrived or are yet to be delivered. /What is important here is that the queues not stand outside in the cold weather but indoors./ Trade also has an obligation to conduct sales in so-called "repeatable" departments, which in practice means that butter, for example, is sold not just in one place but in several departments. Of course, this pertains also to every product for which one has to stand in line. The application of organizational improvements such as those will be, as announced, absolutely enforced, and trade will be treated just like everything else that is first and foremost.

9295

CSO: 2600/215

BRIEFS

SCHOOL REOPENINGS—The head of the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology has decided that instruction for students at all levels will resume on 25 January at the following schools: Bydgoszcz Technical-Agricultural Academy, Krakow Agricultural Academy, Lublin Agricultural Academy, Olsztyn Agricultural-Technical Academy, Siedlce Higher Agricultural-Pedagogical School, the Main School of Farming at the Warsaw Agricultural Academy, Wroclaw Agricultural Academy; at the following technical universities: Czestochowa, Lublin, Slaska [Silesian], Swietokrzysz, Poznan; at the Koszalin Higher School of Engineering, and at the Warsaw Christian Theological Academy. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jan 82 p 5] The Szczecin Agricultural Academy and Szczecin Higher Pedagogical School will resume regular studies on 27 January. [by Macz] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 82 p 2] On 27 January studies were resumed at the Main School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw. The following schools have also resumed studies: Lublin Catholic University, the Olsztyn Higher Pedagogical School, and the Rzeszow Higher Pedagogical School. High attendance on the part of students and teachers is reported. [by bc] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Jan 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/278

ROLE OF WORKING CLASS IN SOCIAL HOMOGENIZATION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 21, 5 Nov 81 pp 11-13

[Article by Elisabeta Traistaru]

[Text] One of the characteristic features of the revolutionary changes that occurred in Romania in the years of building the new social system is affirmation of the working class as the leading social force, against the backdrop of the growing closer between the social classes and categories and deepening process of social homogenization. The concept of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, on the increase in the role of the working class and the revolutionary party in building socialism and communism incorporates ideas of basic importance with regard to the close cooperation between the communist party and the social classes and categories which comprise our society, to blending the activity of the party and state organs with that of the mass and public organizations and leadership organs in the social-economic units and to improving the organizational framework for the effective and direct participation of all workers in the leadership of social-economic life.

Reflecting the profound changes taking place in all areas of our socialist society, homogenization represents a complex and objective process originating in the very dialectical process itself of the formation and development of the new social system. In turn, homogenization acts upon the components of the social system, speeding up the processes in the direction of formation of the united society of workers.

In specialized literature the homogenization of society frequently is limited to the changes taking place in the social structure, with the implications at the level of political and cultural structures being underspoed. We feel that a careful analysis of the real processes taking place in our socialist society brings out a much more complex content of homogenization of Romanian society. In this framework, a particularly important place is held by the country's economic homogenization, which actually represents the objective basis for the process of social homogenization.

The powerful increase in production forces by incorporating the newest achievements of the modern scientific-technical revolution, their rational territorial distribution, development and improvement of the material-technical base are the stimulating factor for the growing homogenization of our socialist society. The correlation between territorial distribution of the production forces and economic homogenization creates better and better conditions for improving production and social relations, of the organizational framework for the masses' participation in the leadership of the economy, social life and governing of the country. These processes and their dialectical interconditioning have as their main direction of evolution for the future the formation of the united communist society of all workers.

Rational territorial placement of the production forces takes place by taking into consideration in a unified whole the criteria of economic efficiency, complex social problems and problems of raising the level of civilization of all workers. In accordance with these principles, the new industrial projects have been placed near the sources of raw materials or centers of consumption, insuring superior utilization of material and human resources. At the same time, new jobs have been sought to be created for women in the units of light industry, food and services in the counties and locations where men predominantly work due to the type and structure of production.

Year after year large amounts of investments, with priority being given to the less industrially developed counties, have been allocated to implement the policy for rational distribution of production forces on the territory. As an example, in the 1976-1980 five-year plan, while the volume of investments for the national economy as a whole rose 1.8 times compared with the 1971-1975 period, increases of 2-3 times occurred in Bistrita-Nasaud, Botosani, Covasna, Gorj, Ialomita, Salaj, Vaslui and Vilcea Counties.

High economic growth rates, characteristic of Romania's development in all years of socialist construction until now, have been maintained and accompanied by broader and broader assertion of the qualitative aspects expressed in general by growth in labor productivity and degree of utilization of raw materials, materials, fuels and electric energy. The new quality of the Romanian economy, which insures it its ability to be efficient, is illustrated by the higher growth rate of the national income compared with that of social product, with the structure of the national income coming closer and closer to that of the economically developed countries.

In the current stage, in conformity with the forecasts of the new five-year plan, powerful affirmation of the scientific-technical revolution in all areas of socialist construction and accelerated transition to a new quality of social-economic activity as a result of the quantitative accumulations from prior five-year plans will take place. The harmonious development of all society, growth of the national economy at a sustained rate and of social product and the national income, accomplishment of an appropriate balance between the various rates and sectors of activity, powerful flourishing of science, education and culture, improvement in social relations and deepening of socialist democracy--basic aspects of the rising homogenization of Romanian society--will be insured.

In the 1981-1985 five-year plan the development of industrial production at an average annual rate of 7.6 percent, together with increasing the share of industry in total per capita production, will insure an increase in the ranks of the working class and its role in all social-economic life. It is forecast that by 1990 Romania should have a population of 25 million, while the population working in social-economic activity will be 11.8-12 million, of whom 52 percent will be in industry and construction, 15 percent in agriculture and 13 percent in other sectors. The result of these changes in the structure of the working population will be an even more emphatic increase in the share and role of the working class in all social-economic life and gradual generalization of working conditions specific to workers over other social categories.

In this five-year plan, on the basis of development of all sectors of activity, fulfillment of the strategic goal of moving Romania from the stage of a developing country to that of an average developed country will be achieved. Fulfillment of this

goal requires improvement in all planning activity, an increase in the role of the working class and all workers in leadership of social-economic life.

The basic goals and guidelines for the 1981-1985 five-year plan bring out the need for a new, revolutionary vision of the economic growth process and, in this framework, of the place and role of industry in the model for economic growth as well as of its relations with other branches of the national economy. There is special theoretical and practical value in the explanation given by the party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, according to which the country's industrialization should not be carried out to the detriment of the development and modernization of agriculture. Proceeding from the conditions and requirements of the current stage, the decisions of the 12th party congress established the task for the powerful and accompanying development of industry, particularly the production of raw materials and energy and of agriculture, with these sectors being the decisive factor for the country's social-economic development and for raising all the people's material and spiritual standard of living.

The main criterion for evaluating the level of social-economic development of all the countries in this five-year plan will be total per capita production and its component elements, per capita industrial production, per capita agricultural production and that obtained in other branches (construction, transportation, services). This criterion expresses the level of social-economic development in a general way, taking into account both the volume of production obtained in all the economic branches as well as the number of each county's population. Taking into consideration per capita total production in evaluating the counties' level of social-economic development is a qualitatively new element in the gradual equalization of the working and living conditions of all workers in all counties. This corresponds to our party's scientific and humanist policy of the harmonious development of all counties, of insuring equal working and living conditions for all workers, regardless of nationality.

In this regard, we feel that the process of territorial economic homogenization could be emphasized more strikingly if the criterion of per capita net production also were taken into consideration. This indicator needs attention, especially since in some counties the share of material expenses in total production is relatively high while in others it is lower, meaning that the real level of economic development would be different for the same per capita total production. In our opinion, a better agreement could be achieved between the criterion of measuring the economic level for the national economy as a whole, that is, per capita national income and the criterion proposed at the county level--per capita net production.

Formation of a complex economic structure in each county comprised of the basic sectors--industry, construction, transportation, agriculture, services--and achieving a degree of employment of the population of a minimum 400 per 1,000 residents will have as a result the gradual homogenization of the territorial social structure and having the counties get closer together with regard to utilization of existing material and human resources.

The Working Class--The Basic Class of Romanian Society

Modernization of the structure of the national economy and formation of complex structures at the county level cause intense social and professional mobility and produce big shifts of the employed population from agriculture to industry, construction, transportation and other sectors of activity. The main meaning of the changes in the

structure of the working population is the increase in the ranks of the working class and reduction in percentage of peasants in total working population. What is significant is the fact that in the 1950-1979 period the working population increased nearly 1,943,000, that is, around 23 percent; worker personnel increased 5,060,000 persons (3.38 times), while the number of workers rose 4,530,400, that is, 4.7 times. The changes are even more obvious if we bear in mind that in the more than three decades of socialist construction the number of workers rose five times. We mention that since 1970 nearly the entire increase in worker personnel has been in the category of workers, which has positive results for having the working class carry out its role as the leading social force in all areas of activity.

The increase in the ranks of the working class has changed the share of it in total working population--from 14.6 percent in 1950 to 54.28 percent in 1979, and in the structure of worker personnel--from 57.6 percent in 1950 to 80.29 percent in 1979. Currently, the majority of the working class--more than 50 percent--is carrying out its activity in industry, which has gained the leading role in the national economy by contributing more than 60 percent of creation of the national income. The promotion of technical progress and the formation of a new structure for industry and the economy as a whole are indissolubly linked with the rise in number of workers in the modern branches of industry. In 1980, more than 45 percent of industrial workers were working in the machine construction industry, chemical industry, ferrous metallurgy and energy industry, compared with only 27 percent working in these branches in 1950.

In exchange, the population working in agriculture fell from 74.1 in 1950 to 29.5 percent in 1980 and it is estimated that it will reach 22 percent in 1985 and 15 percent in 1990.

The profound changes which have occurred in the structure of the working population in Romania in the directions mentioned are not produced in a linear fashion. They have an extremely complex nature, being accompanied by phenomena and processes with positive effects but also with some negative effects on certain sectors or areas of activity. Of course, among the positive effects, of course, is the growth in social labor productivity in agriculture as well as for the national economy as a whole. Thus, raising the technical level in correlation with reducing the number of persons working in agriculture have insured a rise in the level of labor productivity and reduction in the difference compared with that of industry--from around 1:10 in 1950 to around 1:4.5 in 1980.

The absolute and relative reduction in population working in agriculture, along with the positive effects mentioned, however, results in the appearance of a lack of labor force in agriculture in certain counties. This is particularly when it is necessary to carry out agricultural jobs which require a large volume of work in a short time, because agriculture, differing from industry and most of the other nonagricultural branches, requires labor resources which are unequally distributed during various periods of the year. For example, we know that the need for a labor force in the fall campaign reaches the highest level, since harvesting work during this period overlaps with the work of preparing the sowing the seasonal crops. As a result, the need for a labor force in agriculture during the peak periods cannot be insured exclusively from the cooperative member peasants, a class whose size evolves according to the general level of development of the technical base of agriculture and entire national economy.

Under conditions of fulfilling the goals of the new agrarian revolution in Romania, when the technical base for agriculture will continue to develop, basic changes will be produced in the structure of the population working in agriculture in the direction of increasing the share of those categories connected with extending the mechanization of agriculture, using irrigation systems and modern technologies, bringing a deep trend of professionalization of the working force working in this branch and its qualification in relatively stable trades connected with doing agricultural jobs.

Under these conditions, now and in the next stage, the need for a labor force in agriculture will continue to be higher in proportion to the population working in this branch as a result of the additional needs brought on by doing a large volume of work in a relatively short period of time. However, what is important is not so much the fact that a lack of agreement is demonstrated between the requirement for a labor force and the population permanently working in agriculture, but rather the solutions planned to solve this problem.

Proceeding from the complexity of the problem of insuring the necessary labor force in agriculture, our party and state leadership has adopted measures for stabilizing the population in agriculture, making it younger, creating new sectors of activity which are complementary to agriculture and, accordingly, insuring categories of the population which would work both in agriculture as well as in other sectors of work. The result of this is the more intense development of small industry in the rural localities and the agroindustrial cities, leading to a diminished shift of the population working in the rural environment toward the urban centers and reorienting the labor force reserves in a priority basis toward the nonagricultural branches in the agroindustrial cities and smaller urban centers. Thus, better conditions will be created to provide the necessary additional labor force in the peak periods not only from among the agricultural population but also from the ranks of the nonagricultural population of the same zone.

Providing the stability of the population in the rural environment and in the agroindustrial cities and limiting the shifts toward the big urban centers will have a positive effect on raising labor productivity in agriculture in the coming period, as well as in the other nonagricultural sectors.

The increase in the degree of technicalness of the national economy, modernization of its structure, extending of mechanization, automation and cybernetization of production bring the multilateral training of all workers and their obtaining solid scientific and technical knowledge and a solid general culture. Application of the provisions of the program for providing the labor force, developing education and continually improving cadre training in the 1981-1990 period, adopted by the first congress for education and instruction, has special significance with respect to homogenization of the training level of all workers. The 12th party congress documents show that a basic goal of the current five-year plan is continued development of education on the basis of the newest achievements of science and technology, polytechnization and close integration with production and research, solid organization of the qualifying of the labor force, generalization of the retraining process for cadres, improvement in the vocational training of all workers, including peasants. It is forecast to include more than 2 million people annually in the training programs, so that each worker should participate at least once during a five-year plan in an organized form for advanced training professionally and technically.

Adopting these measures was brought on by the rapid changes which occurred in the area of techniques and technologies and by the intense mobility of the trades. The modern scientific-technical revolution causes moral usage of knowledge, bringing the requirement to refresh it every 3-5 years. The information explosion and the achievements of modern science and technology do not permit an exact calculation of the content and volume of knowledge needed for professional activity for a longer period of between 30-40 years. For that reason, the main goal in training workers is to provide mobile training for qualification which would permit them to do varied activities under continually changing conditions.

The need for permanent training is caused not only by the technical and technological changes of production but also by the demands for the multilateral development of the human personality and by man's position in our social-political life.

New Dimensions for The Working Class To Exercise Its Leading Role

The role of the working class as the leading social force in society is a basic social-political relation, in which all classes and social categories are involved: the peasantry, intellectuals, personnel in administration and services, tradesmen, cooperative members and those not members, peasants with individual plots and free professionals. This relationship is expressed by the community of basic interests of all society members. It takes the form of an alliance between the working class, peasants, intellectuals and other categories of workers and the indestructible unity of all the people in the Front for Socialist Democracy and Unity.

The exercising of the leading role of the working class in all areas of activity takes place under conditions of the increase in the responsibility of all classes and social categories, thus not being a question of placing the working class' interests against those of the other classes and social categories.

The Romanian Communist Party insures that the working class exercise its leading role in society by the creation of organizational structures which correspond to the level of development of the production forces and the material-technical base of society. At the same time, the Romanian Communist Party gives these organizational structures a dynamic content and their manifestation in flexible forms intended to provide the best framework for the participation of the working class and all workers in the leadership of social-economic life. There is no contradiction between the leading political role of the communist party and the role of workers as the leading class, but rather a complete dialectical unity, with one being a condition of the other. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "One cannot speak of the leading political role of the party without insuring that the working class leads all areas. At the same time, one cannot insure the working class' leading role without the recognition and exercising of the political role of the revolutionary party, the communist party."

Exercising of the leading role of the working class and the leading political role of the communist party can only be accomplished on the basis of a broad worker, socialist democracy. The workers' councils, which join together around 114,000 people from more than 6,000 social-economic units, play an important role in this regard.

The county workers' councils have been created for a better coordinating of the activity of these democratic leadership organs of the enterprises and institutions and they represent all the industrial, transport, finance and trade units on the territory of

the particular county. The duties of the general meetings—as supreme leadership organs of the economic, social and cultural units—have been broadened.

Our socialist society at all levels has available a well-articulated, broad and dynamic organizational framework capable of coping with the demands of the current stage, of insuring the participation of all classes and social categories in the leadership of social life and of all society. What is important now is that the good operation of this democratic framework be insured.

Operation of the system of worker self-leadership and of the democratic leadership organs and the increasingly broader participation of workers in the leadership of social-economic life demand as an objective need raising the political and cultural level of all the people. The 12th party congress documents have shown that a lag has been demonstrated in ideological and political-educational activity before the general development of society. For that reason, the main task lies in raising political-educational activity to the level of the great achievements obtained in the job of socialist construction, transformation of the ideology of the working class into a powerful mobilizing, vitalizing force for the creative energies of all the people to an even greater extent. Educating all the people in the spirit of the working class concept of the world and life and the principles of socialist ethics and equity is the spiritual condition which strengthens its unity, while generalization of the progressive awareness is an important factor in homogenization of the social behavior of all workers.

With a view to achieving this prospect, the communist party is carrying out its leading role not from outside, but from within the social, state and public organs. This is the lawful process of the continued growth of the leading role of the communist party, of strengthening the unity of all the people around it, of raising the workers' general awareness and of the more and more active participation of all society members in the leadership of social-economic life.

8071

C 50: 2700/123

UNITY OF SOCIALIST AWARENESS, LABOR DISCIPLINE

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 15 Jan 82 p 3

[Interview with Dumitru Necsoiu, a secretary of the Bucharest Municipal Party Committee, by Platon Pardau: "An Indestructible Unity: Socialist Awareness and Labor Discipline"; place and date not specified]

[Text] Pardau: I would like to ask you to allow me, esteemed comrade secretary Dumitru Necsoiu, to describe the political and cultural affairs of the capital as complex, multiple and multifaceted and to compare it with an instrument having a rich range capable of diverse tones with which those who handle this instrument are trying to achieve an ideal harmony...

Necsoiu: With this ideal harmony being man; a dialectical harmony that is being continually improved which is a certain man of a certain time, the man of our times and of Romania in 1982, a year that begins under the sign of continuing at a superior level the carrying out of the Program approved by the 12th Party Congress, the practical objectives established by the joint plenary session of the RCP Central Committee and the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity of last November, and the rich ideas, the inspiring, generous ideas formulated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, in his Message addressed to all the people on the occasion of the new year.

Pardau: In other words, you place man in a precise, nearly scheduled context. But, should man not be evaluated, perhaps, according to his ability to encounter the future?

Necsoiu: Not before creating the present. Any preparations for the future cannot take place other than by working and creating for the construction of the present. In speaking about today's man, about today's new man, we should not consider him to be an abstract thing, but our very real working comrade, a person with a precise identification involved in a precise social activity which is taking place during a precise period of time. This work is called the building of a multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania and, similarly, is measured in the deeds and precise contribution of each of us to the sum of these contributions. It is especially important for us to stress and to give thought to, in our efforts to build today's Romania, the objective laws, as shown by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's valuable contribution to our theoretical thought, laws according to which during the current stage far from remaining behind the development of the means of production, awareness is acquiring a role as a motive force, and it can and must bring about an acceleration of the process of social progress.

Pardau: Awareness... Profitting from the fact that you state that you want to place these phenomena within a precise framework, I would ask you whether it would seem to you that with regards to awareness and to social awareness, for example, we are sometimes speaking in general? And, along this line of thought, culture and its role in a collective group are seen as somewhat parallel with work and productive activities. That is, within a work collective one can speak of a cultural activity that is rich, where awareness has continually grown, and, despite all this....

Necsoiu: Despite all this, the results in production are poor, there are violations of technological disciplines and work discipline in general, and there continues to be product rejects from month to month. Exactly. This is the main negative phenomenon that we must eliminate from the manner in which overall political, education and cultural activities are viewed. These activities must be measured in their effects and in the results obtained by the individual and the collective in their work. For example, the "Song of Romania" National Festival stimulated the thirst for culture and creative activities in the masses, but in some enterprises, institutes, schools, faculties and so forth cultural activities are regarded as something in themselves and an occasion for competition and receiving awards.

Pardau: What are the first prizes for the participants who are truly outstanding in cultural activities?

Necsoiu: Without a doubt, the results of labor in production, which means products of good quality produced by each person, as well as order, discipline, firmness and exigency towards arrearages and backwards mentalities regarding the means of production and labor itself. As the chiefs in the factories and plants where they work, these collectives are responsible for and handle and manage facilities of great value that belong to them and all the people. The prize that we must aim for in educational, cultural and political activities is, as a result, the fulfillment of the duty of acquiring the highest level of performance in our work with a high level of responsibility. Here we truly see the level of awareness, here socialist awareness is relected, how much it has grown and how much it must still grow. No matter how numerous the educational activities, the artistic groups in an enterprise or an institute, as long as there is a lack of discipline and antisocial phenomena this means that they are not truly revolutionarily fulfilling their essential mission - of forming and improving mankind.

Pardau: With the meaning of educational, cultural and political activities being, in essence, profoundly revolutionary...

Necsoiu: Categorically, yes. A revolutionary role that should not be waited upon to be fulfilled spontaneously. For example, I believe that there is no authentic culture that is of value that has a passive nature. Culture and the culturization process, when exercised meaningfully and thoroughly, have active effects upon the people in the sense that through models of thought and behavior that they offer the people come face to face with themselves and they ask themselves about the meaning of their existence and the justification for their existence as individuals on the scale of history. At the historical moment in which we are living when we are facing the clear

desires to accelerate progress in Romania, our job is to consciously involve this awakening of sensitivities achieved by cultural activities as a force of production and to use it as an instrument for the affirmation of man by raising his labors to a new qualitative level.

Pardau: As a party activist in the field of propaganda, you are a combination of the theorist and pragmatist. In practice, therefore, how can this be done, how is the sensitivity achieved by the culturization process productively, creatively employed?

Necsoiu: Everywhere, in the economic units, in the research and design institutes, in schools, in faculties, in any place of work in Bucharest, the people with the best results are also those who are involved in their multiple, professional-cultural training, those who are not merely satisfied to see a phenomenon, but who also think about it. At the level of the collective we can speak of the same thing. Performance achievements basically appear in a climate where cultural and educational affairs are substantial and continuing. Naturally, this observation is an opportunity and work for us, for the party organizations, for the mass and public organizations and for the cultural institutions since it indicates a clear reality: the process of bringing culture to, forming and improving the people must be continually guided, planned and improved. The cultural basis and the positive data from awareness are those that require us to take uninterrupted and qualitatively rich actions towards amplifying these data.

Pardau: Otherwise one can, nonetheless, arrive at a strange sort of culture... a passive one...

Necsoiu: Awareness and culture are like a spring. If they are not fed by new waters, they dry up. Our concern is that through the entire process of forming and developing awareness man will understand social phenomena in Romania and in the world. As a starting point, participation mandatorily involves understanding. Without understanding, the next stage is not possible: assuming one's own responsibilities and knowing the dimensions of social responsibilities. Party documents and the rich directives of especially precious theoretical and practical value given to the workers in the capital during comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's visits and from the conferences in which the party secretary general directly participated with daring and wise thoughts, serve us a marvelous examples for the manner in which we must each assume our duties and sharply place the problem on the shoulders of responsibility. For example, we encounter phenomena of the following type: at the same place of work, only several meters from one person to the next, we find two people with different results - one very good and the other mediocre. A lack of care for the quality and the quantity of work is most frequently expressed as a lack of care for the quality of that person as a person, for culture itself and for improvement in the skill. And, it often happens that the person next to him, the person with the good results, when asked how it is possible for his neighbor to constantly be behind, he shakes his head. It is not his problem... It is not his responsibility. By using the complex educational means available to us, it is our job to work in such a way, by stimulating an understanding of our goals today in each person where we live and work, that we will have an awareness that we should not be indifferent to anything.

Pardau: The recent decree of the Council of State clearly stipulates as law the responsibilities in this area, which is decisive for a modern, efficient economy. Basically, lack of discipline, rejected products, waste and violations of technological standards and behavioral norms during working hours - I am also referring to the consumption of alcoholic beverages in some enterprises, institutes and construction sites - are also problems related to the level of culture and civilization of the people.

Necsoiu: Even more, we must link the culturization process to the precise goals of educating the people! The rigors of scientifically carrying out the production processes, of self-administration and self-management absolutely require the combination of civilization and work and the improvement of the worker, but not just the worker. One of the traits of this socialist awareness in modern man, who we are trying to cultivate by combatting indifference, waste and disorganization, is thinking through the prism of the economic efficiency of his own work. That is, a person should have a picture of the path the product follows in this mind and through his hands, as well as the product's value, and should understand it as it is linked to his own being. It is a great achievement that, today, we can speak about the position of the person who makes things in socialist Romania as the owner, producer and user. But, this position obligatorily calls for an awareness of the value of his creations, a vision of its future and a high degree of responsibility for the activities of each individual and each collective. We encounter situations when an enterprise experiences delays in providing products to a domestic or foreign partner or consumer and the producer remains indifferent regarding this situation and the fact that this creates a chain reaction of shortcomings in the entire economy. On the other hand, the enterprise vehemently complains about other enterprises' failures to adhere to their obligations. That is, the immediate producer does not assume the attitude and does not ask why these shortcomings are not eliminated.

Pardau: What relationship do you see between cultural improvement and the improvement of the process of democratization in our society?

Necsoiu: Socialist democracy is a democracy of intelligence, an active democracy of employing awareness in the better things. Socialist democracy, so delicately improved in the last 15 years at the initiative of the secretary general of the party, is not just favorable to the development of culture, but calls for culture. The fertile, democratic framework created by the party does not work by itself, but must be filled with human intelligence, with self-sacrifice for the cause of the country's progress and with the feeling of participation, and must be applied as a complex, sensitive instrument by informed people capable of understanding it and using it in the way it was created, that is, for the progress and prosperity of the country. Thus, you have the increased requirements for this new year, a complex group of tasks in all areas, with the anticipation of a qualitative step forward for our society.

8724

CSO: 2700

DECREE ON LEVYING, COLLECTING LOCAL FEES, TAXES

Bucharest: BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 118, 31 Dec 81 pp 1-7

[Decree of the Council of State Regarding the Establishment and Collection of Local Fees and Taxes]

[Text] In the application of the provisions of Article 6 of Law No 25/1981 regarding local fees and taxes, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I

The Fees on Buildings

Article 1. Buildings that are the property of natural persons are subject to annual fees through the application of the following fee rates to the value for obtaining these buildings by imposing the law:

- a) one percent for those buildings located in municipalities and cities, as well as in the component localities of these municipalities and cities. For privately owned buildings belonging to small handicraftsmen, independent professional persons and other persons who carry out their activities on their own account, the rate is 1.5 percent;
- b) .75 percent for those buildings located in villages belonging to the municipalities and cities, as well as in towns, including suburban towns.

Article 2. - The increased fee rates, listed in Article 11 in Law No 25/1981 regarding local fees and taxes, for rooms that exceed the number of persons in a family are the following:

- a) 1.30 percent for workers, persons similar to this status and retired persons;
- b) two percent for small handicraftsmen, independent professional persons and other persons who make their incomes through activities carried out on their own account.

Article 3. - In the case of changes in the number of family members or the number of rooms, the fee is appropriately recalculated, beginning with the quarter that follows the one in which the changes took place.

Article 4. - For those buildings belonging to legal entities other than socialist units, the fee rate is 1.5 percent of the inventory value. In cases where the inventory value is smaller than the value resulting from the application of the standards regarding obtaining the buildings by imposing the law, the fee is calculated on the basis of the procurement value.

Article 5. - For those buildings that are state property, belong to cooperatist organizations and other public organizations that are subject to amortization, in accordance with the law, the fee rate is calculated by applying a rate of .75 percent to the inventory value, regardless of the place where they are located.

For those buildings that are used as housing units, the fee rate is .50 percent.

Within the inventory value of the buildings is also included the value of the construction elements and the installations that serve the buildings, such as: stairways, elevators, hallways, terraces, interior installations for lighting, water, sewage, gas, heating, telephones and other similar ones.

Article 6. - For those buildings that are state property that are given over for use by cooperatist organizations or other public organizations, the fee must be paid by these organizations.

Article 7. - The buildings listed in Annex No 1 are not subjected to building fees. For houses purchased from the state housing fund or built with the help of the state and that were transferred to other persons, fee exemptions outlined by the regulations in effect will continue to be applied until the time limits established by the law are reached.

Privately-owned houses of military draftees, their spouses and their children, that are inhabited by them, are not subject to the payment of building fees during the period of their military service, if there are no rented rooms in these houses.

Article 8. - In the case of legal entities, the fee declaration required by law will contain the data necessary to identify the building, the inventory value, the fee rate and the fee payment required, while in the case of natural persons the data referring to the building's surface area, the number of rooms and the number of persons in the family. The declaration will be accompanied by a copy of the ownership document and the building plan.

The financial organs have the obligation to verify the data in the fee declaration and the computation of the amount of fee owed and to conduct field-investigations regarding changes that have taken place in the status of the buildings subject to paying the fees.

Article 9. - The executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils in the areas where the privately-owned buildings belonging to natural persons who have their place of residence in other localities are required to forward the data regarding the owner and the building to the executive committee or bureau of the people's council in the area where the building's owner resides.

Article 10. - Buildings that have just been put into use and those that were turned over for use or acquired during the course of the year are levied beginning with the first day of the month following the month in which these situations occurred.

Article 11. - Buildings that have been demolished under legal conditions, buildings that have been destroyed and those transferred into the administration or, as the case may be, into the ownership of other units or other persons during the course of the year are exempted from the fee beginning with the first day of the month following the month in which one of these situations occurred, on the basis of a declaration submitted under the conditions listed in Article 8.

Exemptions from the fee are accorded only for the portion of the building that was demolished, destroyed or transferred into the ownership or administration of other unit or person.

Article 12. - The fee levied on buildings owned by natural persons or legal entities other than socialist units is established by the financial organs on the basis of the owner's fee declaration and through the fee report which constitutes executory title. Through the fee report, which also takes the place of the payment notification, the owner is also informed of the insurance premium covering the value of the building by imposing the law.

Article 13. - The annual building fee is paid biannually, in equal amounts, by 31 March and 30 September.

Chapter II

The Fees on Land

Article 14. - The fees on land in municipalities and cities, as well as in the component localities of these municipalities and cities, listed in Article 13 of the Law Regarding Local Fees and Taxes, are annually established as follows:

- a) cities .40 lei/m³
- b) municipalities .50 lei/m³

Article 15. - The fees on land are established, modified and collected according to the provisions of Chapter I in this decree.

Chapter III

Taxes on Transport Vehicles

Article 16. - Taxes on transport vehicles that are mechanically powered belonging to natural persons and legal entities other than socialist units are established on the basis of engine displacement for each 500 cm³ or fraction of displacement under 500 cm³, in the following manner:

- automobiles	200 lei
- buses and minibuses	600 lei
- trucks	500 lei
- wheeled tractors	400 lei
- motorcycles	150 lei
- tricycles	150 lei
- powered bicycles or mopeds	100 lei

For tractors, light tractors, semi-tractors and carriers, 50 percent of the taxes owed on the trailers that are pulled are owed, and for vehicles that are attached 50 percent of the taxes owed on the vehicles to which they are attached.

For motorcycles with sidecars and tricycles that belong to handicapped persons and are adapted to the handicaps of these people, 50 percent of the taxes are owed.

Article 17. - The engine displacement is proved by the vehicles purchase invoice, and in the absence of this by a voucher issued by a specialized state or cooperatist unit.

Article 18. - The tax on water transport vehicles that belong to natural persons or legal entities other than socialist units is annually established for each separate type of vehicle, in the following manner:

- boats	20 lei
- boats for personal use	20 lei
- boats used to transport persons	35 lei
- boats used for other purposes	125 lei
- powered boats	500 lei
- floating bridges	350 lei
- motorboats	700 lei

Article 19. - The tax on transport vehicles is established by the financial organs through a fee report on the basis of the fee declaration submitted by natural persons and legal entities other than socialist units, in accordance with Article 30 of the Law Regarding Local Fees and Taxes. The report, which constitutes executory title, is forwarded to the party involved and takes the place of the payment notification for the entire period the vehicle is owned.

Article 20. - The tax on transport vehicles that are acquired, transferred or removed from the records of the militia organs or, as the case may be, of the port's harbor-master during the year is owed, or is given an exemption, beginning with the first day of the month in which one of these situations occurred.

For vehicles that are inoperative from a technical point of view, the tax on it is exempted beginning with the first day of the month following the month in which the owner presents proof issued by a specialized state or cooperatist unit which attests to this situation.

Article 21. - The annual tax owed on transport vehicles found in the records of financial organs at the beginning of the year is paid biannually in equal amounts by 31 March and 30 September. For transport vehicles acquired during the course of the

year, it is paid within a timeframe of 30 days from the date of procurement, if this took place after the first payment timeframe.

Foreign natural persons and legal entities which, according to the law, are required to pay the tax on transport vehicles will present to the militia organs, at the time of registering the vehicles or, as the case may be, the annual visa, proof of the advance payment of the tax on the transport vehicle. Upon the departure from the country of the vehicles belonging to foreign persons, the customs organs will verify whether the taxes owed were paid on the vehicles for the entire period of time they were in the country.

Chapter IV

Taxes on the Use of Public Sales Places

Article 22. - Taxes on the use of public sales place by natural persons, socialist state units, cooperatist organizations, public organizations, as well as other legal entities, are the following:

Type of Use of the Public Place	- lei/day -
1. For the sale of products:	
a) from beasts of burden or from vehicles that are drawn by one animal	5
b) from animal-powered vehicles pulled by two animals	8
c) from powered-vehicles	15
2. For the use:	
a) of trays, for each m ²	2
b) tables and stalls, for each m ²	4
c) of covered tables, for each m ²	4
3. For animals and fowl brought to be sold, for each animal or bird:	
a) cattle, mules, horses and pigs over 6 months	10
b) pigs up to 6 months old, sheep and goats	3
c) small animals and birds, except day-old chicks	2
4. For occupying places needed to sell products resulting from crafts and other authorized pursuits, for each m ²	6
5. For occupying places needed to sell occasional objects and for occupying spaces with empty transport vehicles, for each m ²	8
6. Entering marketplaces where occasional objects are sold	2

For other products, goods or services, other than those listed in this article, the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils can set daily taxes within the limits of the taxes listed in the preceding paragraph.

For products and goods that are sold in front of stores by socialist state units, cooperatist and public organizations and other legal entities, as well as by natural persons, taxes are not computed for the use of these public places.

Article 23. - For the use of public places other than those listed in Article 22, the following taxes are levied per day:

- lei/m² -

- | | |
|---|-----|
| a) for the storage of diverse materials | 1-3 |
| b) for the sale of diverse products or services | 3-5 |
| c) for the making of products | 1-3 |

The taxes listed in the preceding paragraph for occupying sidewalks, streets and other public places are established by the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, as the case may be. Occupying public places is done with the approval of the executive committee or bureau of the people's council, as the case may be, with the advance payment of the taxes due. Taxes are not owed in the case of occupying the sidewalk in front of a house or building, for up to 5 hours, for the purpose of repairing the buildings or supplying it with fuel or other materials needed for its operation.

Article 24. - The taxes for the use of public sales places listed in Article 22 can be increased up to 30 percent by the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils depending upon the provision of running water for washing products, lighting, covered spaces, enclosures and asphalt surfaces, as well as the level of management and equipment in the marketplaces.

Article 25. - The taxes listed in Article 22 and Article 23 are not owed in cases where rents are paid for the use of public sales places.

Article 26. - The collection of the taxes for the use of public sales places is done by the administrative organs of the marketplaces, fairs and markets, or other organs empowered for this purpose by the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, as the case may be.

Chapter V

Taxes on the Issuance of Permits in the Construction Field

Article 27. - For the issuance of permits in the construction field, listed in Article 22 of the Law Regarding Local Fees and Taxes, the following taxes are owed:

1. Permits for construction, transformations, changes and repairs to buildings and installations or for projects, as well as for the partitioning or transfer of buildings:

Value of the Project or Construction - lei -	Tax - lei -
a) up to 50,000	200
b) from 50,001 to 100,000	300
c) from 100,001 to 150,000	400
d) from 150,001 to 200,000	500
e) over 200,000	600

2. Permits for the partial or total demolition-disassembly of constructions, installations or projects:

Value of the Construction, Installation or Project - lei -	Tax - lei -
a) up to 50,000	100
b) from 50,001 to 200,000	130
c) from 200,001 to 250,000	160
d) over 250,000	200

3. Survey certificates and construction procedures certificates:

Surface Area of the Land for Which the Certificate is Requested - square meters -	Tax - lei -
a) up to 250	150
b) from 251 to 500	250
c) from 501 to 750	350
d) from 751 to 1,000	450
e) over 1,000	600

4. Permits for heirs to take over inherited lands or to divide lands, 50 lei for each permit that is issued.

5. Permits for work to install plumbing, gas, sewers, for each installation: 50 lei.

6. Heliographic copies from survey plans or other such plans held by the people's councils, for each square meter of plans:

- at a scale of 1:500 -- 1,000 lei
- at a scale of 1:1000 -- 1,250 lei
- at a scale of 1:2000 -- 1,500 lei

7. Technical approval notices needed to obtain loans for housing, depending upon the value of the loan:

- up to 5,000 lei 30 lei
- up to 10,000 lei 50 lei
- for each 10,000 lei or fraction of 10,000 in addition, for each 50 lei

8. Other activities:

- a) topographic mapping, for each point 15 lei
- b) parcelling out lands - calculations and designs - excluding mapping on land surveying, for each parcel 30 lei
- c) fencing in land in order to mark boundaries, for each point 10 lei

The taxes listed in points 1 and 2 are calculated for existing buildings according to their insurance value and the value of the estimate for the buildings, installations and projects that are to be built.

Article 28. - The taxes listed in Article 27 are owed by natural persons and legal entities other than socialist units and are paid prior to the issuance of the permits or certificates. Proof of tax payment is maintained by the organ that issued the authorization permit or the certificate.

Chapter VI

Taxes on the Use of Publicity, Notices and Advertising

Article 29. - Natural persons and legal entities other than socialist units that use means of publicity through the press, notices and advertising owe the following taxes:

1. For notices and publicity bulletins or typed advertising, as well as for manufactured signs, displays and advertising panels made from any type of material, taxes are owed, for each copy, depending upon size according to the following:

- a) under one-half m² between 10 - 100 lei
- b) between one-half and one m² 50 - 200 lei
- c) between one and three m² 100 - 400 lei
- d) over three m² between 150 - 1,200 lei

The amount of taxes is established by the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils.

2. For publicity in the press, the tax is five percent of the amount paid to the press organ for the publicity.

3. Untyped publicity notices and bulletins, 10 lei for each copy. The payment of the tax is made by applying fiscal stamps - on the top and bottom - so that the stamps cannot be removed and reused.

Article 30. - The taxes on publicity, notices and advertising is paid in advance to the budget of the people's council in the area where the unit carried out its printing operations. In situations where the publicity or advertising goes on for more than 1 year, the taxes owed are paid during the month of January of each year.

The taxes on the publicity carried in the press are transferred from the publishing agency to the people's council budget in the area where the agency has its location, by the tenth day of the following month.

The manufacture of publicity notices and bulletins or advertising by socialist units can be done only after showing proof of having paid the taxes for the entire run. In the contents of the published materials mention will be made regarding the amount of taxes on the materials and the payment document for them.

Chapter VII

Taxes on Staying at Balneary and Climatic Spas

Article 31. - The tax for staying at balneary and climatic spas is 10 lei per person, while for students the tax is 5 lei.

Article 32. - The tax for staying at balneary and climatic spas is collected through the use of tickets having the fixed value imprinted on it for this purpose.

In the case of persons housed by tourism units and other socialist units for balneary treatments and rest, as well as persons who are receiving only the balneary treatments, the tax is collected, as the case may be, by those units that provided the housing or those where the treatment was given, at the time the person checks-in.

For persons who go to the balneary and climatic spas on their own account, the tax is collected by the executive committee or bureau of the people's council, as the case may be.

Chapter VIII

Taxes on Visits to Museums, Memorial Homes, Historical Monuments and Monuments of Architecture and Archeology

Article 33. - For visits to museums, memorial homes, historical monuments, and monuments of architecture and archeology, a visiting tax of two to five lei per person is established.

Article 34. - The Council of Socialist Culture and Education will establish visiting taxes within the limits listed in Article 33 depending upon the artistic, historical and architectural value of these places.

Chapter IX

Taxes on Having a Dog

Article 35. - Natural persons who have more than one guard dog on their property, as well as those persons who have pet dogs and hunting dogs, annually pay the following taxes:

- | | |
|---|---------|
| a) for guard dogs | |
| - for the second dog | 75 lei |
| - for the third or more dogs,
for each one | 600 lei |
| b) for hunting dogs | |
| - for the first dog | 225 lei |
| - for the second or more dogs,
for each dog | 450 lei |
| c) for pet dogs | |
| - for the first dog | 300 lei |
| - for the second and more dogs,
for each dog | 600 lei |

In the meaning of this decree, by pet dog it is understood to mean dogs kept in houses.

For dogs needed to guard herds of animals and for dogs of any type up to 6 months old, as well as for guide dogs for sightless persons and those used by rescue teams, no taxes are owed.

Article 36. - Natural persons who keep dogs are required to declare them for the purpose of establishing the amount of taxes to the local financial organs within 6 months from their birth or 15 days from the time they are acquired.

The taxes are paid by 30 April of each year or within 30 days from the date of registration.

In cases where the dogs are no longer kept, regardless of the reason, the annual tax is not recalculated.

Article 37. - The health-veterinarian organs will check, when dogs are brought in for vaccinations, the records for the payment of the taxes listed in this decree.

Article 38. - It is a violation and is punished by a fine of from 500 to 1,000 lei if the provisions of Article 29, paragraph 2 in Law No 25/1981 Regarding Local Fees and Taxes are violated.

Article 39. - The finding of violations listed in Article 38 and the application of punishments are done by those persons empowered for this purpose by the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, as the case may be.

Article 40. - Counter-claims against the violation report can be made within 15 days from the date of notification of a violation.

The counter-claim is submitted to the organ to which the investigating agent belongs and will be accompanied by a copy of the violation report.

Article 41. - The provisions regarding the violations listed in this decree supplement the provisions of Law No 32/1968 Regarding the Finding and Punishing of Violations.

Chapter X

Other Provisions

Article 42. - Local fees and taxes up to and including 50 lei are paid in full up to the first payment deadline.

For the advance payment of fees on buildings and land by natural persons, there is a five percent reduction if the payment of the fee owed for the entire year is paid before 1 March of that year.

Article 43. - Disabled war veterans are exempted from the payment of local fees and taxes regulated by this decree.

Article 44. - The increases calculated according to the Law Regarding Local Fees and Taxes will not be smaller than 10 lei or larger than the sum owed.

Article 45. - Objections outlined by the law are submitted within 30 days of the date of notification of the established fees and taxes or, as the case may be, from the date on the payment document for those made directly, and are resolved within 30 days from the date they are recorded.

Within 30 days from the date the resolution is forwarded to the person who made the objection, an appeal can be made to the financial administration of the executive committee of the county or Bucharest municipal people's council. The appeal will be resolved within 30 days from the date it is recorded.

The submission of objections and appeals does not suspend the payment of the fees or taxes that are owed.

Article 46. - In cases where the objections and appeals were upheld, the incorrectly paid sums are returned or, as the case may be, are officially compensated for in other fees and taxes that are owed, at the latest by 31 December of the year in which the objection or appeal was upheld.

Article 47. - The differences in fees and taxes that are owed as a result of investigations made by the financial organs are paid, for sums up to and including 500 lei, within 30 days and, for sums over 500 lei, in two equal amounts, with the first due within 30 days and the second within 60 days from the date of notification of the amounts owed.

Article 48. - The executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils can grant, on a case-to-case basis for thorough justified reasons, graduated payments spread over at the most 12 monthly payments and delayed payments until the end of the calendar year, as well as reductions in local fees and taxes and increases in them.

The executive committees and bureaus of the municipal, Bucharest municipal sectors and city people's councils, as the case may be, can grant the assistance listed in the preceding paragraph up to a limit of 5,000 lei in the case of socialist state units, cooperatist units and other public organizations and up to 500 lei in the case of natural persons and legal entities other than socialist units.

Article 49. - The Ministry of Finance, together with the Committee for the Problems of the People's Councils and the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils, will taken measures to simplify the setting of formulas and the means of establishing and collecting fees and taxes.

The Ministry of Finance will draw up, within 30 days from the date this decree goes into effect, methodological norms regarding the calculation techniques for local fees and taxes.

Article 50. - Control of the administration of printed materials used in the collection of taxes for using public places and tickets having a fixed value for collecting taxes for staying at balneary and climatic spas, as well as control of the administration of the funds collected from these sources and from visits to museums, memorial homes, historical monuments and monuments of architecture and archeology, is carried out by the internal financial control organs of the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils.

Article 51. - This decree goes into effect on 1 January 1982.

Article 52. - Annexes 1 and 2 are an integral part of this decree.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 31 December 1981

No 425

Annex No 1

List of Buildings Not Subject to Fees

1. Buildings administered by or, as the case may be, owned by the following units:

a) budgetary units, with the exception of those used as housing;

b) units of the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of the Interior and units within the framework of these ministries, with the exception of those used by economic units;

- c) units of enterprises specializing in the administration and renting of state housing space subordinate to the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils;
- d) state agricultural units, including units for raising and fattening animals and fowl;
- e) agricultural mechanization stations,
- f) units for the management of water and land improvement units that contain water pumping installations or that serve hydrotechnical facilities designed to prevent floods and service flooded land areas;
- g) rail, ship and air transport units that directly serve the needs for using transportation, with the exception of buildings used as capital repairs shops and for the production of spare parts or other production shops or used as housing, as well as those spaces used for commercial or service activities;
- h) units of enterprises for the extraction and preparation of non-ferrous ores, with the exception of those used as housing;
- i) units of political and mass organizations, with the exception of housing and buildings occupied by units organized on the principle of economic-financial self-administration;
- j) agricultural cooperative units.

II. Other Buildings

- a) any type of temporary building within a construction site financed from the organization fund of the construction site, until the project is turned over to the user;
- b) buildings containing operating child care centers, kindergartens, canteens, canteen-restaurants, workers' centers or medical centers, for the entire period during which they are used for these purposes;
- c) buildings of socialist units, as well as buildings belonging to cooperatist organizations, that are newly built and used as housing, for a period of 5 years from the date they are first used;
- d) buildings which, according to the law, are considered historical monuments, monuments of architecture and archeology, museums and memorial homes.

Annex No 2

List of Normative Acts That Are Abrogated

- Decree No 18/1952 for the establishment of local fees and taxes, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 4 of 18 January 1952.

- Decree No 495/1956 for the modification of certain provisions in Decree No 18/1952 for the establishment of local fees and taxes, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 27 of 26 October 1956.
- Decree No 453/1957 regarding changes to Decree No 18/1952 for the establishment of local fees and taxes, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 24 of 14 September 1957.
- Decree No 79/1958 regarding changes to Decree No 18/1952 for the establishment of local fees and taxes, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 12 of 10 March 1958.
- Articles 16-20 in Decree No 51/1951 for the prevention and combatting of dog disturbances, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 60 of 31 May 1951.
- Decree No 22/1953 for reporting for 1953 taxes on buildings and land in the private sector and completing Articles 8 and 9 in Decree No 18/1952, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 2 of 22 January 1953.
- Decree No 484/1953 regarding fee exemptions for buildings and mandatory insurance on buildings used by the Central Council of Trade Unions and the Central Committee of Trade Unions for worker vacations, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 49 of 26 November 1953.
- Decree No 440/1959 regarding the abrogation of provisions referring to the registration and traffic authorization, as well as the payment of taxes, of non-powered bicycles and tricycles, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 28 of 19 November 1959.
- Decree No 171/1960 regarding certain measures to simplify the establishment of certain taxes and insurance premiums, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 18 of 7 July 1961.
- Article I in Decree No 564/1968 regarding changes to certain provisions referring to fees and taxes, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 87 of 3 July 1968.
- Article III in Decree No 27/1970 referring to changes in certain legal provisions referring to fees and taxes, as well as insurance premiums, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 3 of 31 January 1970.
- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 144/1952 for placing cities in the categories listed in Decree No 18/1952 for the establishment of local fees and taxes, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 6 of 25 January 1952.
- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 3712/1953 regarding exempting those persons covered by the Law on Agricultural Taxes who are involved in the carriage business from paying local taxes on animal-powered vehicles, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI, No 74 of 3 December 1953.
- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 3986/1953 regarding certain exemptions from building tax reductions, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI, No 74 of 3 December 1953.

- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 1985/1956 regarding exemption of taxes on buildings belonging to district offices, water pumping buildings and others administered by the State Enterprise for the Management of Water in Agriculture.

- Paragraph one of Article 19 and the provisions regarding exemptions from building fees in the Decision of the Council of Ministers No 405/1965 regarding the assignment, use and establishment of charges for vacation places and balneary treatment spas, as well as certain measures to improve the activities of the balneary and climatic economic enterprises of the people's councils, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI No 13 of 17 May 1965.

8724

CSO: 2700

MARXIST ATHEISM, SOCIALIST AWARENESS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 21, 5 Nov 81 pp 22-24, 37

[Article by Petru Berar]

[Text] Today the theoretical models of humanism are less and less abstract, speculative systems or simple generous prophecies; they are tending to become broad social categories and to demonstrate their effectiveness at the level of a determined social practice, preferably contemporary. In the modern dialogue of humanisms, the socialist model, which has dialectical and historical materialism at its base, primarily is asserting itself and affirming this theoretical type. This also explains the fact that it is presented in varied hypostases: as philosophical humanism, but also economic or political, to dwell on merely the main ones. Precisely for that reason, the current stage in the historical evolution of humanism requires that we judge and rejudge the theoretical status and practical social value of the concepts which express the ideals of socialist humanism in one way or another. Of course, among these are also included the ones of atheism and socialist awareness as well as, in particular, the relations between them.

Undoubtedly, this subject by nature is not pure theoretical, since it has social-political ends. As an educational ideal, atheism is part of what we call scientific materialist education. But the question is raised: can we really determine the atheist educational strategies without being concerned with the specific theoretical content of Marxist atheism? Of course not, although even among propagandists the mentality is broadly disseminated according to which the existence of Marxist atheism no longer arouses discussions and polemics, but as a form of spirituality its existence is necessary in itself as a spontaneous reflection of proliferation of scientific knowledge. However, a vulnerable mentality since, as stated in the 12th party congress report, there are people, even party members, who still believe in supernatural forces. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes, "Political educational activity must lead to the formation of the new man with a broad horizon of knowledge of the laws of world development and achievements of modern culture and science, an active militant for the revolutionary change of the world and for the noble ideals of communism." Atheist education does not have value in itself independently in the sense that it could be isolated from general social, material and spiritual life. Materialist education, which includes atheism, must be seen as an action of scientific information, but also as a process of man's political and moral improvement.

Generally the idea is admitted that Marxist atheism in the history of thought represents the most complex atheistic philosophy, while its theoretical basis is represented not only by denial of divinities--an obsession of traditional atheisms--but in particular by the concept of religion as a social phenomenon. Undoubtedly, religion primarily is a specific mental phenomenon, but with a fate closely connected with and caused by the evolution of society. The historic or ahistoric nature of religion--here is the hottest point of modern polemics between the materialists and fideists. The social determination of the evolution of religion in the Marxist sense of the explanation, however, does not mean "sociological or economic reductionism," as often is ascribed to dialectical and historical materialism. On the contrary, this philosophical vision, without denying the relative independence of religion as a form of spirituality, still brings down to earth its illusory heaven of existence and gives immense stimulus to the religiologic progress of particular sciences, especially of sociology and social-cultural anthropology.

Just as true--however, it is understood or known less--is the fact that Marxist atheism has its limits when it is accepted as a means of explaining a specifically determined social reality. It is a philosophy and as such cannot be substituted for specific social research. The diagram of religiousness and lack of religiousness in a certain society or certain more general aspects but with a nature which is less or not at all philosophical (the psychology of the believer in general or of certain categories, comparative inter-religious aspects and so forth) are the subject of particular disciplines, primarily of sociology, the psychology of religion and the history of religions.

An interpretive reading of classic Marx texts on religion and atheism has theoretically constructed a dogmatic atheism which has devoured scientific research and denied the contribution of particular sciences. Thus, the simplifying conclusion was reached that Marxists know everything about religion, at least with regard to the basic thing and that what is left to do is to spread atheistic mentalities, an activity conceived in turn in a spirit of superoptimism, naive at that, considering itself the single alternative to the disappearance of certain forms of religiousness, generally traditional, multisecular, would be atheistic mentality. Some of these opinions still continue today. There still are Marxists who feel that the crisis of religion today and that of religiousness, real all over the world to some extent or other, would establish atheism everywhere, without seeing that there also are many other "superstitions" or social "heresies" which also are competing for the place abandoned by the faiths and the traditional, historic religious behaviors.

The main conclusion which should be retained is that we should never identify theory with reality, atheist doctrine with atheist reality, and psychological reality even when we have in mind Marxist atheism, whose theoretical and methodological value is and remains inestimable. Also, a similar finding, merely in a banal appearance, must also be made with regard to the concept of socialist awareness in relationship to atheism. And in this case we often formulate many rationales, wished to be precisely conclusions of an analysis of certain social realities but without sufficiently clearly discerning between socialist awareness as a theoretical model and the socially real one. And in this case it is a matter of a relationship of unity, but not of an absolute superposing between the importance of the concept of socialist awareness and the importance of socialist awareness really existing.

As a theoretical model, socialist awareness, at the same time, has a logical, axiological and imperative value. It is not a quantitatively complete picture, a simple total of the importance of social reality (a reality which it reflects but tends also to guide) but merely the theoretical synthesis of it. From here we have the fact that

atheism, a living philosophical concept, a mentality and a behavior, cannot merely be clear within and through the means of the classic Marxist theoretical text, that is, by a purely deductive means, but rather through direct research into the realities which form socialist awareness and which, in one form or another, always contain something novel in relationship to existing theory. Then it is not without interest to recall yet another aspect, often neglected by the exegetists of Marxist atheism: as a supreme end of its humanism, Marx was not noting so much the mastery of atheist theory, which through itself is still a concern with religion, but a critical one, but rather a forgetting of religion, the disappearance of any inexistential interest in religion.

However, no matter how we view things, from the angle of Marxist theory of social realities, it is certain that socialism conceives of the liberation of human awareness from the "opium of religion" not through an independent educational process with a value in itself, but rather as the result of the progress of the entire society and its move toward communism. A fact for which the problems of having the masses form and master certain new mentalities, a scientific concept of the world and an ethical attitude toward life and the universe are not reduced to learning a philosophy or to spreading scientific knowledge, regardless of whether it is very successful. It is a question of a much more complex process, the study of which (philosophical, sociological, psychological and so forth) means taking many social-psychological indicators into consideration.

Sometimes it still happens that however narrow the themes of atheist education remain for research, the area of real or merely supposed virtues of what is called "atheist man" broadens just as much, just as unjustifiably. For example, the author of a book asks, "What does it actually mean to be an atheist," and among "several of the more important features" (actually, 13!) he also formulates the following: "To be an atheist means to master the domestic and foreign policy of our communist party and socialist state on a solid basis, to struggle selflessly and with self-denial to achieve it in life. To be an atheist means to fully master the profession, the trade you practice, to continually improve your knowledge and professional experience."*

Leaving aside the opinion according to which merely by becoming an atheist you can fully master the profession or trade you practice, it must be stated that the immense majority of believers in Romania are fully devoted to the domestic and foreign policy of the Romanian socialist state and that building of the multilaterally developed socialist society is the joint work both of atheists and nonatheists. Our party and state policy provides for assertion and practical demonstration of the justness and superiority of dialectical and historical materialism but, at the same time, also preservation and strengthening of the people's unity beyond the religious or atheist convictions of the country's citizens.

It is correctly felt that, particularly in the social sciences, the concerns with methodology "to no avail," with "excessive" epistemology not organically linked with a certain specifically determined research may lead to speculative theorizing.

* Vasile Asanachescu, "Current Problems of Atheist-Scientific Education," 1977, pp 46-47.

However, it is no less true that "grams per square inch" of epistemological concerns cannot be established arbitrarily and, in the end, the history of social sciences demonstrates that there always remains something foolhardy in qualifying something that is or is not excessive epistemology. With regard to modern Marxist study of religion, I dare to believe that currently it is precisely the problems of methodology which have precedence as a condition of the impulse for this type of scientific research. Whereas the opinion according to which "scientific atheism" represents the alpha and omega of the understanding of the religious phenomenon is on the way to disappear, which represents real scientific progress in this area, the custom still exists among Marxist researchers nearly everywhere of substantiating a more or less general concept of religion from the angle merely of a single scientific discipline, generally philosophy, and this, it seems, is from concern for a mistakenly understood faith in classic Marxist text. Without exaggerating, one can state that this phenomenon is somewhat bizarre. Neither Marx, Engels nor Lenin were professional researchers of the religious phenomenon, a fact which should be kept in mind all the time, but through their philosophical, sociological and political concepts they always kept in mind the integrality of the religious phenomenon even when they made particular observations about this subject. Otherwise, how could they have substantiated a "nonindependent" atheism subordinate to the ideals of the socialist revolution and building of communism?

A certain exclusively philosophical view of the Marxist understanding of religion tends to distort the very essence of this Marxist concept and--what particularly interests us in this article--to hinder scientific research into the religious phenomenon on Marxist bases. Nearly exclusively, all the manuals of Marxist philosophy which have appeared until today in Romania, be they originals or translations, define religion merely as a form of social awareness, as graphically the very title of the chapter on religion is entitled in a past university course: "Religion, a Distorted and Fantastic Reflection of Reality."* Religion truly is a distorted and fantastic reflection of reality, but it should be observed that in these cases each time we encounter the expression, also mutilated, of a definition given to religion by Engels, unfortunately requested too much to the detriment of understanding what is basic to the Marxist concept of religion. Should we really recall that neither Marx, Engels nor Lenin tried to formulate an actual definition of religion in the meaning of classic logic? It is fully justified to make a profound study of the philosophical significance of religion by the Marxist thinkers. But the interpretation of religion as a social phenomenon, which is specific to Marxism, surely exceeds these philosophical frameworks. In addition, a true scientific research on Marxist bases categorically also requires the contribution of other disciplines alone with philosophy.

Also, it is hard to believe that we shall be able to open new fields for scientific knowledge by asserting endlessly merely that religion is a distorted and fantastic reflection of reality. Religion is a complex phenomenon, in which we can distinguish at least four basic aspects or elements: psychological, emotional, connected with faith in the supernatural; theoretical-ideological, which includes religious myths, dogma, theologies and so forth; the practices which structure actual religious life; finally, the institutional aspect referring to the organizational aspect of religious communities and their relations with secular society.

* "Course of Dialectical and Historical Materialism," Didactic and Pedagogical Publishers, Volume II, 1961, p 349.

In this view, a comparative study of religion and the synthesis of their history research into the evolution of religious practices, the study of psychology of religious behaviors, historical analysis of religious institutions and so forth are not only promising original scientific contribution but they can offer vast material for philosophical generalization itself. Also, it should be noted that the acceptance of religion as a complex phenomenon today represents a characteristic of the most important religiologic measures, regardless of their ideological orientation. For example, although a Marxist cannot agree with the idealist theoretical orientation of Mircea Eliade's philosophy, it still approves the concept by which he rejects on principle the temptation for unilateral and speculative interpretation, asserting that "actually a 'purely' religious act does not exist; a religious act always is also an historic, sociological, cultural and psychological act, mentioning just the most important ones from its aspects."¹

Precisely in this direction of an integral view of religion some Marxist thinkers are turning today. Thus, in a valuable treatise of "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" it is asserted that "religion is not only a concept of the world but a complex social phenomenon."² However, here, too, it is a question of an isolated and undemonstrated assertion, although just two pages further on he speaks of a committed dialogue between Marxists and Christian circles in certain capitalist countries. Confining ourselves to such assertions according to which religion "is nothing more than a coarse form of idealism," it is hard to believe that the reader understands the reasons for this dialogue and that he will be able to deduce the social-political problems of the religious phenomenon in the modern world.

A particularly important theoretical aspect is the philosophical-ideological orientation in the disciplines which are concerned with the study of religion, either exclusively or merely tangentially. Just as many neophytes of Marxist atheist philosophy feel that this study should be as simple as possible since religion is a distorted reflection of reality gnoseologically (and, so, what difficulties in knowledge could be aroused any longer?), there also is a related means of judgment: the temptation to believe that ideological imperative is exterior—at least by its origin—to the process of the actual scientific knowledge and that it should be the concern only of the philosopher and politician who, in the end, come to evaluate the value of the results obtained through scientific research. Precisely in such a context, the philosophical and ideological orientation of scientific research into the problems of religion tend to be reduced in the activity of certain Marxist researchers to repeating some general principles which are basically correct but repeated like a ritual. The continual evocation of certain philosophical principles, even with various formulations, remains an ineffective theoretical activity, since it does not "fuse" with the scientific research to which it is related.

Among the newest disciplines contributing to the knowledge of the religious phenomenon are sociology and the psychology of religion and they are contributing decisively to an understanding of the social-human context of the phenomenon and are protecting the

1. Mircea Eliade, "La Nostalgie Des Origines," Gallimard, Paris, 1971, p 50.

2. "Dialectical and Historical Materialism, Volume I," Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, 1978, p 41.

research of religion from the temptation for speculative interpretations. However, we know that the appearance and development of sociology all along the nearly one and one-half centuries have created complex situations. As the French sociologist Henri Desroche notes, it would be more correct for us to speak of the existence of the sociology of religion in the plural, that is, the "sociologies" of religion. At least two basic and divergent theoretical orientations operate in the field of this discipline: the secular one with a secular content and the "pastoral," that is, the religious one promoted in the western countries, particularly by the Catholic and Protestant specialists. Not even within nonreligious sociology does there exist a unity of ideological and methodological orientation, however, taking into account if only the fact that the sociology of religion of the Marxist orientation has a theoretical profile substantially different from the other sociological orientations and in many regard basically opposite to them.

The need for and current nature of the sociology of religion are brought by modern scientific progress, but this discipline, although evolved from a predominantly philosophical content toward an empiric one, continues to have a pronouncedly ideological nature, perhaps also due to the particularly complex and engaging nature of the social realities it aims at. However, not even the evolution of the sociology of religion of the Marxist orientation did develop smoothly. If we can speak of Marx as of one of the founders of the modern social study of religion, there also was a period of several decades when the Marxists felt that the sociology of religion was a bourgeois science, as well as sociology in general.

The scientific importance of the sociology of religion in the socialist society today is unanimously admitted. Socialism has launched and produced important changes in the panorama of the social phenomena connected with religion or which enter into its competence within the relations between believers and other social institutions, in the social and individual awareness of the people. Through their excellence, these changes become the subject of sociological study and philosophical steps without losing their importance, being insufficient at this time to the extent to which they do not risk becoming speculative.

The development of the sociology of religion of the Marxist orientation in Romania today poses two problems causally connected with each other. First, sociological research into the religious phenomenon is still not developed enough, while the causes for the fact are evaluated in a contradictory way. At the same time, to a certain extent, with the same justification, it is maintained that this scientific research is not being stimulated enough but also that it still has not proven its usefulness enough. Second, in particular the subjects and methods used in sociological research of religion of an empiric nature far from meet expectations. The idea, basically correct, that what we are achieving in this direction should not be isolated from sociological progress everywhere has led to the tacit conclusion that the critical takeover of certain methodologies from somewhere else represents one of the best solutions. But in the sociology of religion, even more than in another place, there is an "osmosis" between the theoretical interpretation of phenomena (so basically different among themselves) and the arsenal of the research methods and techniques that any methodological transfer can distort one's own research.

Under these conditions of breaking new ground, the difficulties of sociological research into the religious phenomena in Romania are connected in particular with a certain oscillation, on one hand, between a research that tends toward demonstrating certain philosophical theses with a sociological apparatus, without confessing this

fact, and, on the other, flat empirism, irrelevant, with minor themes. There are too many examples to mention here, but even in passing we may ask with regard to the first "excess," how could empiric sociological research demonstrate the Marxist thesis according to which religion is the "opium" of the people? And, yet, attempts are made--and there are many--although floundering in sociological speculations becomes inherent. In addition, it is not a matter merely of the subjects researched but also of the sociological use of certain concepts not merely of philosophical origin and also with a load of much more philosophical importance than sociological. For example, what determinations does the concept of "atheist" have at the level of empiric sociological research? Even if the answer to this question is not impossible, let us still admit that it is very difficult.

However, what are more important through their weight are the difficulties connected with the themes and content of empiric research. I believe that an extremely important problem occurs here for the profile and fate of the sociology of religion of the Marxist orientation, for fixing its place in the field of "sociologies of religion." We shall not dwell on the "questionnaire-mania" of sociology, intended to survey the believer's consciousness and which most often gives us merely the knowledge of the subjects in problems of religion or those connected with it. What we want to relate exceeds these disturbances in the sociological discussion which brings out amateurism. For example, we dwell on one example, which differs too little from others with regard to what concerns us here. We read in one work: "From the viewpoint of field research, the three basic dimensions by which individual religiousness is expressed are religious behavior (that is, carrying out cult acts), religious representations and religious living (attitudes, emotions)."¹

It is certain that as sociologists we may define religiousness in this way and very many sociologists define it like this or in a similar way. Yet we believe that such definitions are not enough for a sociology of religion of the Marxist orientation for the simple reason that it interprets and evaluates religious behavior merely on the basis of what is included in the sphere of religious life. But from the Marxist viewpoint (and not only Marxist, if we think of Weber, for example), the deepest significance of religiousness, which also is historical, is determined and--or perhaps in particular--in the believer's behavior toward the secular world. Neither religiousness nor the lack of religiousness are unchanging entities, while the differences between the religiousness specific to the believers belonging to one cult or another are explained by the specific nature both of the religious dogma as well as of the societies in which they live. In the end, even the behavior of a "fanatic" believer differs much not merely from one religion to another but from one society to another. In order to understand religiousness sociologically we must study not merely the believer's strictly religious behavior, restricted to actual religious life, but also his overall social behavior, in what it is determined by various degrees of the intensity of his faith as well as the specific nature of his religious life. By viewing things this way, the very goals of atheist-scientific education become clearer, more determined. According to the abovementioned author, one of these goals is the "determination of everyday attitudes and behaviors in life comparable with these convictions and foreign to the sphere of religious, mystical and obscurantist life."²

1. Haralamb Culea, "Religion Under the Sign of Philosophical-Sociological Research," Political publishers, 1975, p 53.

2. Ibidem, p 77.

However, there is no doubt that, in order to determine the atheist's attitudes and behavior in everyday life, we must know in what way they differ from those of the believer, we must know something of this believer's behavior, the behavior which exists and is demonstrated outside the religious life but influenced or even determined by it.

Such problems of sociology also lead us to the general and basic conclusion of these lines: the development of any religiologic discipline must take into account the overall characteristic of religion, revealed and brought out by general scientific knowledge. The idea of a "science of religion" which belonged to some scholars in the last century, proved to be a utopia, but the need for a theoretical generalization of all knowledge about religion remains a permanent reality with a view to eliminating religious concepts from the people's awareness.

8071

CSO: 2700/123

EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO COMBAT RELIGIOUS SECTS DISCUSSED

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 26 Dec 81 p 2

[Interview with Valeria Cadareanu, secretary of the Timis County Union of Communist Youth Committee, by SCINTEIA TINERETULUI: "As Close as Possible to Young People and Their Lives and Concerns"; place and date not specified]

[Text] The materialist-scientific education of the younger generation is not and cannot be a linear process, and even less a graduated one, as they say, over an even or odd number of five years plans. The dialectics of this strategy which is an integral part of the broad, encompassing action for the moral-political formations and education of the younger generation and the new man naturally and necessarily includes and requires the contributions of all education authorities, with significant tasks and responsibilities belonging, in this context, to the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] organs and organizations. That is why we are listing in this article some of the ideas resulting from the conversations we had with comrade Valeria Cadareanu, a secretary of the Timis County UYC Committee, in connection with the forms and means of political-educational actions proven to be efficient in the work to form materialist-scientific convictions in young people.

[Answer] I would like to stress right from the beginning the fact that in Timis County the materialist-scientific education activities for the younger generation are carried out in the context of intensifying all political-ideological and educational work. This work takes place under the direct guidance of the party organs and organizations for the purpose of a unity of action with the younger generation and all the workers in our county and for the purpose of successfully fulfilling the guidelines and directives issued by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the recent joint plenary session of the RCP Central Committee and the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development. That is why, during this period, the Timis County UYC Committee has been concerned with intensifying materialist-scientific education activities for the younger generation, taking into consideration those trends and phenomena specific to our region which might serve as certain distractions for some categories of young people from the collective efforts of the Romanian, Hungarian, German, Serb and other nationality workers dedicated to carrying out the decisions of the 12th Party Congress.

[Question] We would ask you to succinctly define what these trends and phenomena are and to what degree are they capable of distracting some of the young people from their civic tasks and responsibilities.

[Answer] First of all, we must remember the fact that, even if there is an attempt to revive, proselytize and intensify the influence of religious groups existing outside the law, all this is taking place against a background of an increase in the collective opinion and the stimulating and formative educational influence of the UCY organizations. Under the specific conditions of our country, we are seeing, which is correct, an intensification of proselytizing actions carried out by a self-defined group called "Jehova's Witnesses". I do not want to go into details right now with regards to this group's doctrine and their means of influence, but it is clear that through their purposes and motives this group is openly carrying out proselytizing actions, especially among children and young people. At the same time, keeping in mind the anti-progressive and anti-humanist nature of other groups that are also operating outside the law, such as the "Dissident Pentacoastalists," the "Reformed Adventists," the "Nazarenes," the "Stylists," the "Universalists" or the "Brahmans," we are involved right now in explaining to the young people what this retrograde and reactionary content is so that they intuit and are able to judge the essence of these doctrines that violate the letter and the spirit of the laws of our country and the principles of revolutionary democracy. Some of these actions are: speeches and discussions on themes such as "Religion - A Distorted Reflection of Reality," "The Negative Consequences of Religious Fanaticism," "Science and Religion - An Irreconcilable Antithesis," "The True Face of the Religious Sects." These actions systematically take place right in the large economic units, in single persons' housing areas, in schools and so forth, beginning with the idea that under the conditions of diversity in the psycho-social and cultural environment and a broad spread in the level of cultural training it is necessary to have specific permanent actions to prevent any attempts to conduct retrograde mystical indoctrination in the area of forming certain powerful progressive moral-political beliefs.

[Question] And, therefore, what do you think should be in the more sustained efforts of our organs and organizations in the direction of the materialist-scientific education of the young people?

[Answer] Without pretending to give a definition to efficiency, I must say that there is need to double the actions that I have mentioned by increasing the educational capacities of each UCY organization, in the sense that person-to-person work must become a permanent practice of each UCY organization. Not merely by words, but also especially through deeds, we must test our ability to be comrades and friends in our work, teaching and lives. For that reason, we are firmly decided to provide all the assistance necessary to each UCY organization in order to present a specific life in the richness and scope of its activities. Only in this manner can we also achieve, by using the rich potential in the personnel that we have, the necessary and possible qualitative leap about which we are talking.

8724

CSO: 2700

EFFORTS TO 'MODERNIZE' RELIGION DERIDED

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 26 Dec 81 p 2

[Unsigned article: "'Modernizing Religion' - Or From an Anathema to a Dialogue"]

[Text] A term that during the last 10 to 15 year has acquired broad usage, although its content is still (as would be natural) under the sign of controversy and clarification, is "aggiornamento." Taken literally, it means "brought up to date" or more accurately "made current." Actually, however, the picture that it expresses is much richer and broader in form and content than that which is currently understood by this word. It is revealing that, as an exegetist justifiably supports a phenomena, the Roman Catholic Church, especially, while seeking certain new forms of universality that are adequate in a world divided and subjected to continuing change, is restricted - as is also stated in the pastoral constitution of the Vatican II Council under the title of "Gaudium et Spes" - to studying the "signs of the times," that is, it is changing its point of view in accordance with a series of essential problems of the contemporary world.

Thus, the problems of social philosophy (such as those of independence, dignity of the personality and the paths for the development of the personality, which are found again in "the theology of earthly realities"), those of the philosophy of history (the main thing here being the evaluation of the new situations of "technical civilization" in the context of contemporary culture) and, then, those of social-political and economic doctrines (which discuss themes such as war and peace, the struggle against poverty, inequality, underdevelopment, family life, access to culture and so forth). All, certainly, dealt with and resolved from a strictly specific angle.

In order to just understand this phenomenon in all its data and factors, it is necessary to conduct research into the deaconry of this contortionist process through which the church, and we repeat especially the Roman Catholic Church, proposes to bring itself "up to date." For example, Pope Leon XII in 1891, and Pius XI in 1931, pointed out in their encyclicals "Rerum Novarum" and "Quadragesimo Anno," respectively, the same aversion to the workers movement and the same passion for maintaining "the Christian social order."

By relying on an anti-worker and, in fact, anti-communist ideology without a real basis, the church woke up isolated, especially after the 1960's. This is also the source of the new trend that is noticeably taking place in this era, under the title of "aggiornamento," and that signifies the movement, as one author of this era says, "from an anathema to a dialogue."

In this context, the documents of the Vatican II Council (1962-1965) and, later, the encyclical "Pacem in terris" of Pope John XXIII expressly stipulated the duty of each Christian to participate in the collective efforts of humanity directed towards defending the cause of peace and life on earth. Especially since, as one of the theologians directly linked to the "renewal" conciliatory movement, Karl Rahner, noted, the position of the church in a dialogue with the "de-sacralized world" and, especially, with Marxists is today presented in another manner: "Christianity does not at all state that only its followers, dedicating themselves completely to the cause of mankind, can make a contribution of a truly positive nature in those problems linked to the present and future of mankind." He adds: "Further, we do not feel that Christianity is the only force capable of ensuring the attainment of these goals."

Pope Paul VI's encyclical then followed with an immense echo during that era - "Populorum Progressio" in whose framework of 87 paragraphs it explicitly stated the thesis that "under the conditions of the world of these times, injustice appeals to heaven (which is not just a metaphor - ed.) for revenge when the fundamental necessities of an entire people are not satisfied."

In essence, however, with all its critical comments upon certain real aspects of liberal-capitalism, this encyclical and, furthermore, the entire pontifical view of today are not at all different from the traditional ideology of capitalism, but merely make certain "adjustments" to the traditional Roman Catholic ideology. Certainly, the consistency of certain positions, such as the recent papal encyclical "Labor excersens" ("Through Work") formulated by Pope John II along with the celebration of 9 decades since the promulgation of the encyclical "Rerum novarum," also present multiple data that attest to this trend of taking into consideration (within certain limits, naturally) the ideology of the "de-sacralized world." As was mentioned in this encyclical, to speak "of man in the vast context of the social reality that is called work" and to admit that man has precedence over other things and that "the basic foundation of the value of work is man himself," these do not represent merely a simple concession made to certain broadly accepted theses or to merely Marxist thinking, but an effective act to turn towards the truths which the revolutionary, democratic and progressive movement has definitively and irrevocably imposed upon contemporary political and social awareness. Furthermore, beyond the changes in stress, the entire ideology of "aggiornamento" is still far from accepting the ability of socialism to revolutionarily and radically change the world and man.

Beyond all these stresses and openings having innovative intentions, such a doctrine cannot have real access to social renewal. Now more than ever, it is clear that it can no longer constitute a loyal and firm guide in action and that through its data religion cannot offer this alternative.

8724
CSO: 2700

RESULTS OF STUDY ON FERTILITY OF FEMALE POPULATION

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Sep-Oct 81 pp 888-896

[Article by Dr Petru Muresan of the Health Statistics and Computer Center of the Ministry of Health]

[Text]. A knowledge of demographic behavior with regard to the size of the family--being a condition of liveborn and deaths occurring--currently is in the attention of all countries, being a basic dimension of planning. From this viewpoint, the prognoses on future population, which is the departure point for long-range plans, are worked out on the basis of fertility and mortality indicators. The variants of these prognoses actually are built on variants of the fertility regime, with an uncertain future evolution, a regime which depends on the family's behavior and the desire to have a certain number of children.

Generally, a falling trend for natality is being registered in the European countries, with a deficit of population or nearly zero growth already existing in some of them. Under these conditions, the theories which supported the advantages of "zero population growth" have lost their current nature, with the governments of most European countries aiming at working out programs of action with a view to achieving an appropriate natural growth. This aspect of primary importance also was taken into consideration by the United Nations through its specialized organs, when it worked out the methods for a world fertility survey applied to the countries with low natality, an international survey in which most of the countries which have these kind of indicators are participating and in which Romania also is participating.

2. In 1978 a fertility survey of great proportions was made in Romania* in the same locations where this investigation took place before in 1967/1968 and 1974/1975.

*. The commission for guidance of the fertility survey and for processing of the Dr Petru Muresan, Sabina Ceanovici, Doina Dumitrache, Elena Malcescu, Raluca schivescu, Cecilia Popescu, Constanta Prisacaru, Lucia Roznatovechi, Dan Schwartz, Stela Voiculescu. Collaborators: Arad County: Dr Oprea Lazarescu, Dr Galina Anghel, Dr Ana Pribac, Dr Aurel Ungur, Rujenca Bodrogean, Veronica Uncu, Susana Covaci, Elena Stana, Leonida Cionca, Melania Andreica, Eugenia Lamos, Lucia Gherman, Raisa Cristea, Eva Friedmann, Maria Munteanu, Ana Motziu, Elena Madas, Doina Brici; Arges County: Dr Nicolae Pislaru, Dr Ion Druta, Carmen Diaconu, Cristina Vintila, Florica Serbanel, Cornelia Naftanaila; Bihor County: Dr Viorica Rosenberg, Dr Ionel Fines, Dr Mariana Molnar, Cristina Baliban, Craita Hana, Floare Dobrescu, Magdalena Kreuter; Brasov County: Dr Ioan Boboc, Dr Ilarie Letca, Maria Pivoda,

The sampling of women surveyed included 10,141 persons chosen on the basis of typical stratified selection, in the counties with high, average and low natality, from 450 rural locations and 10 urban locations.*

3. The following may be mentioned among the most important results of the survey.

3.1. The average number of liveborn per person investigated was 2.06, higher (2.42) in the rural areas than in the urban (1.72). In zone III, with the highest natality, the average number of liveborn for a woman was 2.67, compared with 2.07 in zone II and 1.68 in zone I, with the lowest natality. An average of 1.48 children per woman exists in Bucharest Municipality.

Until the age of 40 for the women investigated, the age at which the great majority of children in a family are born, the average number of children was 2.53 (for the 35-39-year-old age group), in the rural areas -- 3 children and in the urban--2 children. This average number of children per woman is higher than that recorded in previous surveys as a result of higher fertility in this period.

3.2. Of the women investigated, 9.54 had no children, 29.22 percent had one, 33.44 had two, 13.43 had three, 8.51 had four, while 5.86 had five or more.

For the 45-49-year-old age group, the proportions do not vary too much from the abovementioned average; the end result is that 6.57 percent of married women had no children by the end of their fertile period.

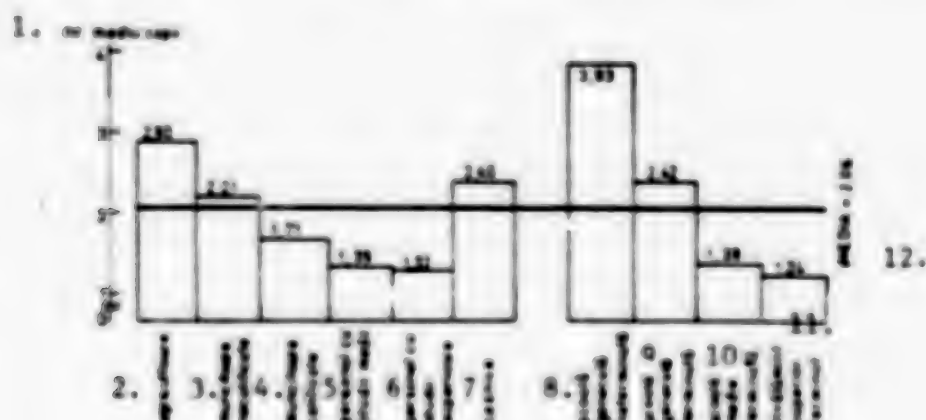
According to the length of the marriage, barely after a marriage of 15-20 years was the total number of children achieved (2.58 average for this subgroup of women), which is too long a period, with the optimum period being 10 years. In exchange, in the first 10 years of marriage, the average number of children per woman investigated was only 1.99, with nearly one-third of these women not having children or having just one, a proportion nearly identical with the women whose marriages had lasted more than 20 years.

Georgeta Serban, Gabriela Popa, Maria Pop, Letitia Marcu, Maria Mistrea, Maria Puscariu, Lucia Puchi; Iasi County: Dr Gheorghe Baci, Dr Ioan Roman, Dr Elena Mitrea, Dr Petru Renghea, Aurora Dehelean, Agnesia Opris, Angelica Bocinca, Margareta Ticu, Eugenia Ivanov, Otilia Tudose, Maria Ivasciuc, Ana Filip, Ecaterina Filoti, Maria Nemesnicu; Sibiu County: Dr Nicole Galani, Elena Stanescu, Maria Isdraila, Eugenia Rocneanu, Marcela Radu; Timis County: Dr Henric Paulovits, Dr Georgeta Negru, Dr Simina Silvocan, Dr Eva Lang, Dr Emeric Schnur, Hartwig Bakk, Maria Halacescu, Livia Popiceanu, Didina Glura, Eleonora Brinda, Margareta Bugarin, Ileana Doorki, Sofia Abel, Heli Mohaupt, Ildiko Kreppel; Vaslui County: Dr Stefan Bucevachi, Dr Ana Mocraneschi, Dr Aurora Iliescu, Dr Ion Ardeleanu; Georgeta Virna, Paraschiwa Bantas, Niculina Constantinescu, Aurelia Sava, Ecaterina Lucian; Bucharest Municipality: Dr Traian Ionescu, Dr Lucian Balanescu, Dr Octavian Flesariu, Virginia Perjoc, Sanda Busegescu, Hermina Nau, Vali Bulcan, Andrei Alecu, Maria Stancium, Sofia Covaci, Floarea Cojocaru.

*. Investigating personnel, formed of obstetrics-gynecology medical assistants, were instructed centrally so the investigation could be made homogeneously. Guidance, checking, coding and computer processing done by Health Statistics and Computer Center of Ministry of Health, also data analysis obtained from 2,320 tables.

3.3. Female agricultural workers on the average have the most liveborn (2.90 per woman), with housewives (2.40) following and then unqualified workers (2.21). For the remainder, for the other groups of employees, the average number of children is much lower: 1.71 for qualified workers and 1.39-1.32 for personnel with secondary and higher studies (Graph 1).

Graph 1. Average number of liveborn for a woman by environments and degree of schooling



Key:

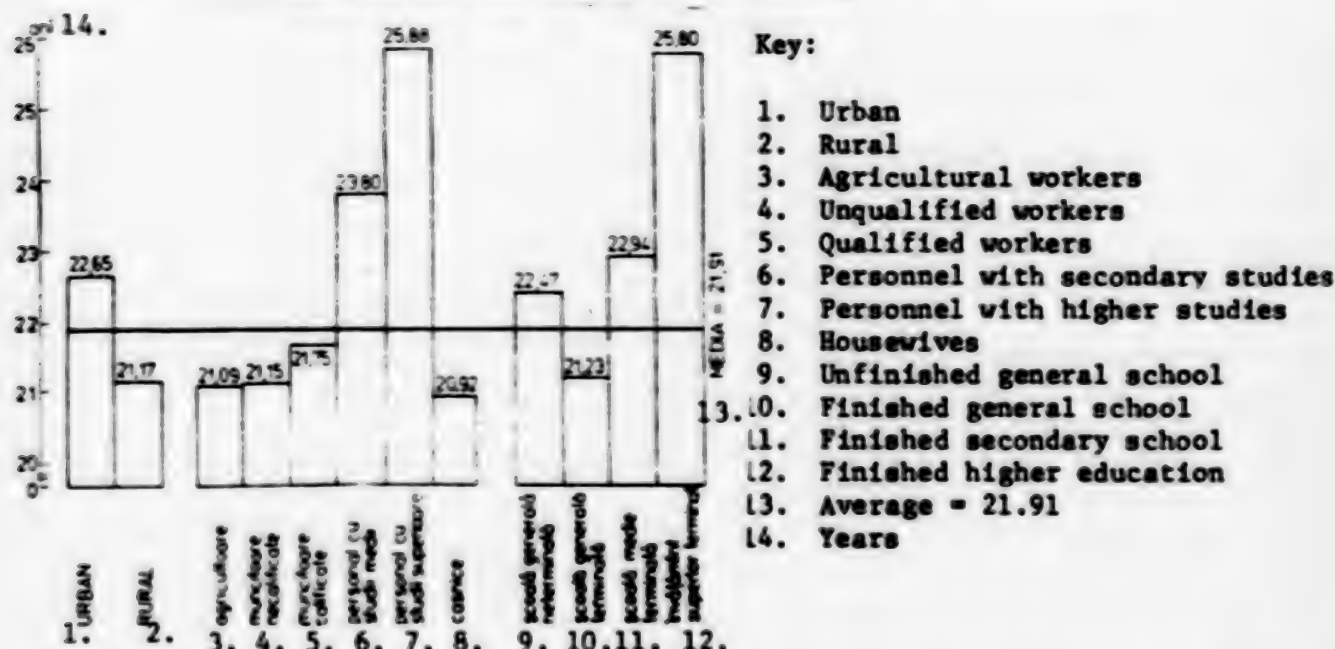
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Average number of children | 7. Housewives |
| 2. Agricultural workers | 8. Unfinished general school |
| 3. Unqualified workers | 9. Finished general school |
| 4. Qualified workers | 10. Finished secondary school |
| 5. Personnel with secondary studies | 11. Finished higher education |
| 6. Personnel with higher studies | 12. Average = 2.06 |

For the coming period, by reducing the proportion of women working in agriculture, unqualified workers and housewives and increasing the proportion of qualified workers and personnel with secondary and higher studies, fertility and, thus, the number of liveborn per woman (called "sum of reduced births" in demography) could be reduced very much.

Women with unfinished general school had 3.93 children, while their number was small (just 183 women surveyed). Women with finished general school had an average of 2.42 children, those with secondary school finished had just 1.38, while the women who graduated from higher education had 1.24. These data also show that fertility is inversely proportional to the degree of schooling--as is the case in most countries--and, thus, by increasing the proportion of women with secondary school, fertility could be reduced very much if appropriate measures are not taken, measures which would influence the women's demographic behavior.

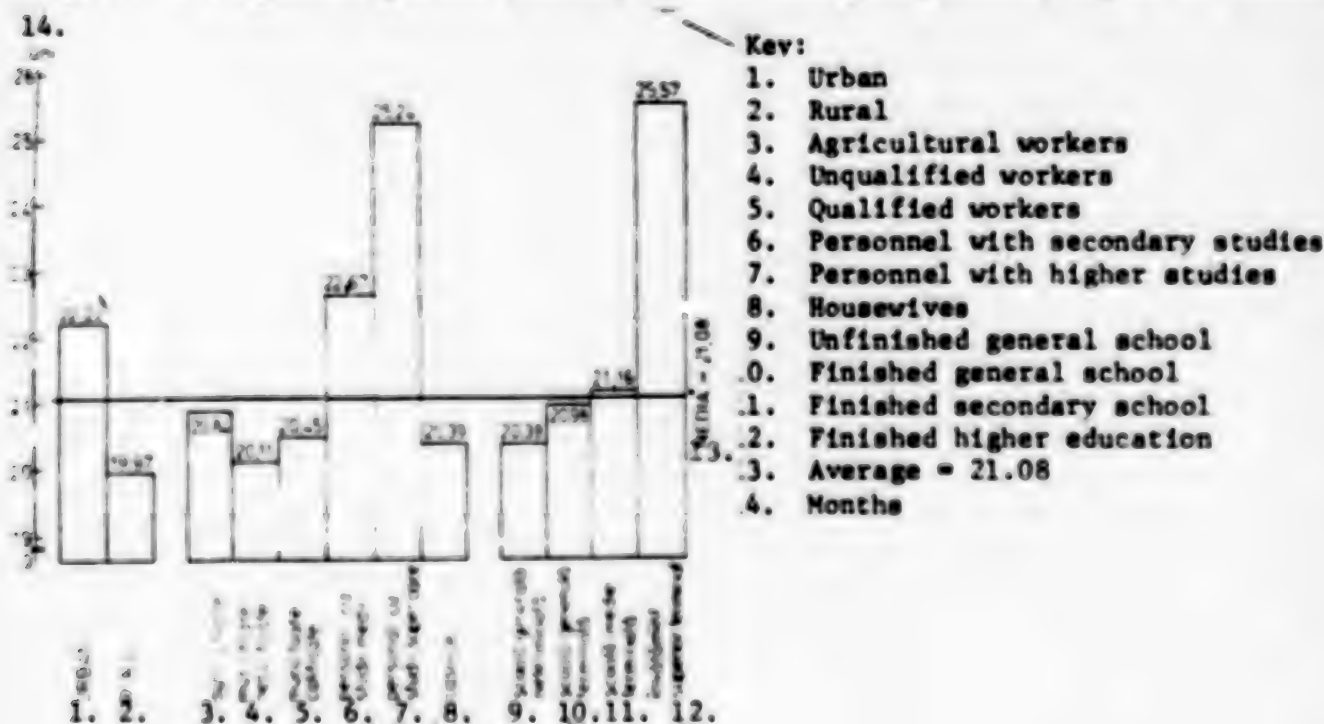
3.4. Average age at the date of the first birth (liveborn) was 22 years old with this number being 1 year less for recently married women compared with women married in 1930. This average age is much lower for rural women and, as employees, for housewives, agricultural workers and workers (Graph 2).

Graph 2: Average age of women at first liveborn birth, by environments, occupations and degree of schooling



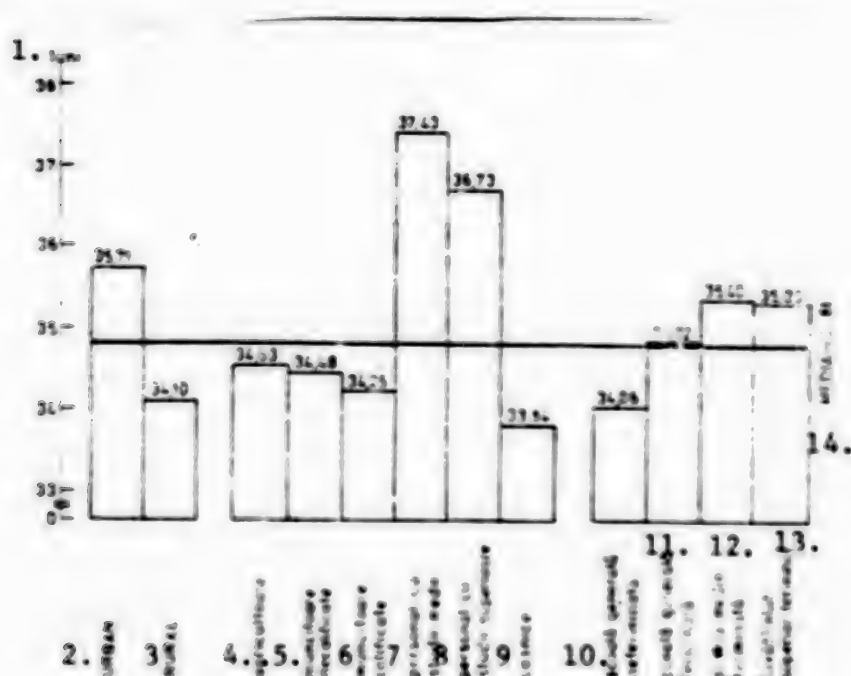
3.5. The protogeneic period, that is, the number of months between the marriage date and date of the first birth (liveborn) was 21 months, with great variations according to age at the date of marriage, urban or rural environment, zones, occupations and degree of schooling. These variations are between 14 and 30 months, with the protogeneic period being less in the rural areas, for workers, for housewives, agricultural workers, women with unfinished general school and much higher for the women investigated in Bucharest Municipality and for personnel with higher studies (Graph 3).

Graph 3: Protogeneic period (months) by environment, occupations, degree of schooling



3.6. The intergenetic period, between the first and second birth(liveborn) , however, was greater, around 35 months, thus, around 3 years, with very large variations between 22 and 45 months. The greatest differences are between women from the marriage group of 1958-1962 with the maximum intergenetic iperiod and the recently married ones, after 1973, with the minimum intergenetic period (Graph 4).

Graph 4: Intergenezic period (months) between first and second live birth, by environments, occupations and degree of schooling



Key:

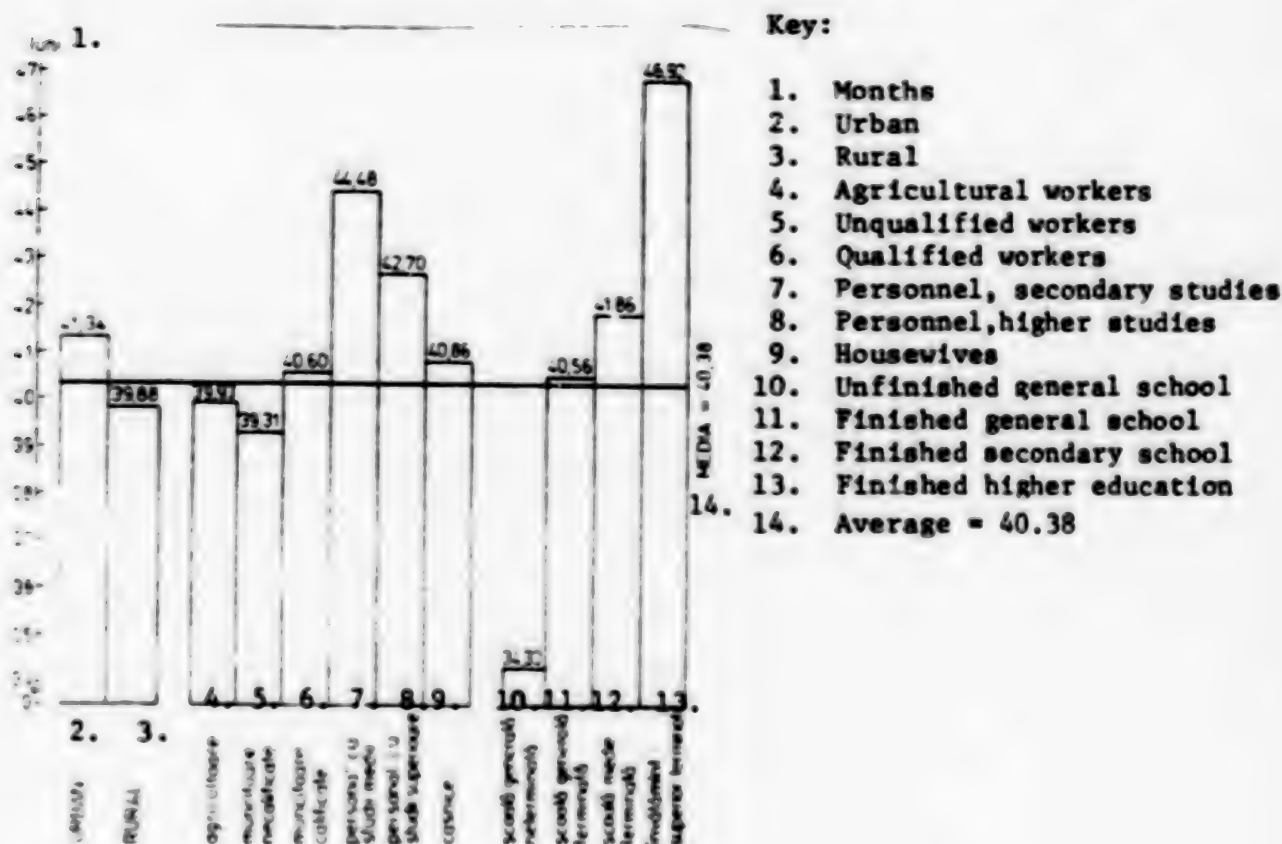
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Months | 8. Personnel with higher studies |
| 2. Urban | 9. Housewives |
| 3. Rural | 10. Unfinished general school |
| 4. Agricultural workers | 11. Finished general school |
| 5. Unqualified workers | 12. Finished secondary school |
| 6. Qualified workers | 13. Finished higher education |
| 7. Personnel with secondary studies | 14. Average = 34.81 |

And, in this case, the intergenetic periods by various zones, occupations and degrees of schooling are similar to the protogenetic period, however with less emphatic variations.

3.7. The intergenetic period, between the second and third birth (liveborn) was 40.38 months, that is, nearly 3-1/2 years, greater in the urban areas and in Bucharest Municipality in particular. The differences by occupations and degree of schooling, with some exceptions, are similar to those of the protogenetic and intergenetic period between the first and second birth. The result is that the women from the marriage group after 1973, thus, young married, give birth sooner, both for the first

and second and third child, compared with women married prior to 1973. The continued fall and an emphatic one is found beginning with the women married after 1958 (Graph 5).

Graph 5: Intergenezic period (months) between second and third live birth, by environments, occupations and degree of schooling



3.8. The number of pregnancies of the women investigated was an average 3.44, greater in the urban and in primarily Bucharest Municipality. Among these pregnancies, 1.37, thus, around 40 percent, were not desired (at all or merely not spaced properly, thus, not desired at the point of the appearance of the pregnancy). In Bucharest Municipality half of the pregnancies were not desired.

The average number of abortions was 1.35, thus, nearly identical with that of undesired pregnancies, with greater indicators in urban and maximum in Bucharest Municipality (2.95 abortions average per woman investigated).

If just the women aged 40-49 were taken into consideration, the average number of pregnancies was 4.50, that of undesired pregnancies--2.08, and that of abortions--2.25 (4.37 pregnancies in Bucharest Municipality, of which 2.16 were undesired and 2.95 abortions average per woman investigated).

And we see from these data a less appropriate demographic behavior in the urban environment compared with the rural and thus the possibility that in the future,

parallel with urbanization, the women's demographic behavior in urban areas is generalized if appropriate measures are not taken to improve this behavior.

3.9. The average number of children considered optimum (ideal) for a family was 2.51, while the one desired at the time of the marriage was just 2.01, while the one achieved was 2.06. We see here that in general, women have just the children they want, with the exception of agricultural workers and housewives who have an average number of children somewhat beyond the number desired at the time of marriage, particularly the women with unfinished or finished general school.

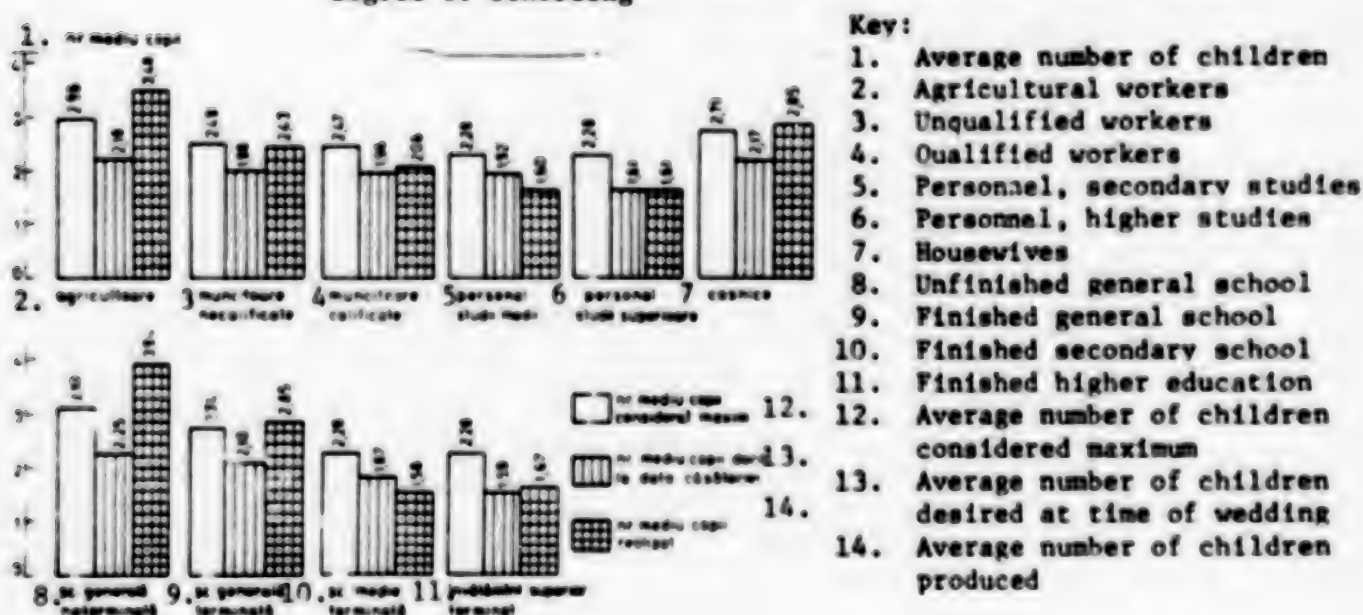
If we take into consideration the women with long marriages, who have had the great majority of their children in the family (with a length of time of 15-19 years from the date of the wedding), the indicators are as follows: a. Average number of children considered optimum for a family--2.64; b. Average number of children desired at the time of marriage--2.03; c. Average number of children produced--2.58.

These indicators compared among themselves seem to be satisfactory, but this is due merely to the rural environment and in particular zone III with the greatest natality, with there being an inappropriate situation in the other zones, particularly in the urban areas and Bucharest Municipality.

	a	b	c
Total sampling	2.64	2.03	2.58
Urban	2.37	1.93	1.99
Bucharest Municipality	2.31	1.85	1.59

Generally, surpassing the number of children produced compared with the number desired at the time of the marriage or compared with what is considered the optimum is found only in agricultural workers and housewives, and, according to degree of schooling, only in women with general school, particularly unfinished general school. (Graph 6).

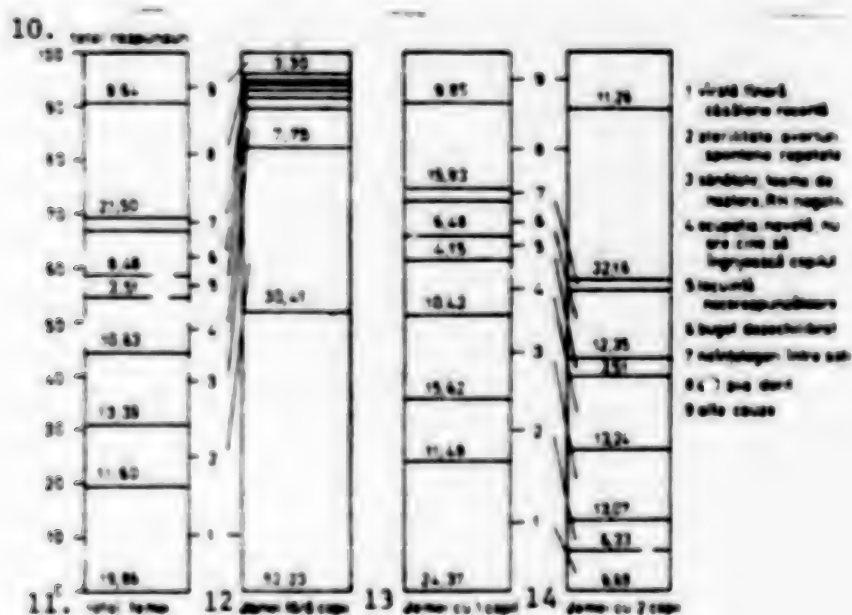
Graph 6: Average number of children considered optimum for a family, number of children desired at time of marriage and number produced for women married 15-19 years by occupations and degree of schooling



3.10. The main reasons for which the women investigated had no children or just one or two were given in this way (in decreasing order of the proportion of answers): number of children they wanted--21.50 percent; young age, recent marriage--19.86 percent; health of spouse or wife, fear of birth, fear of not having healthy child, Rh negative--13.39 percent; sterile wife or husband, repeated spontaneous abortions, unable to get pregnant--11.60 percent; occupation, commuting, taking courses, lack of supervision, insufficient budget, lack of supervision for children--10.63 percent; insufficient or unbalanced budget, inappropriate housing + insufficient budget, children hard to raise--8.48 percent; inappropriate housing + lack of supervision for children, inappropriate housing--3.51 percent; misunderstandings between spouses, spouses living apart--1.39 percent; other reasons--9.64 percent.

These reasons vary according to urban or rural, by zones, occupations or degree of schooling as mentioned during the analysis (Graph 7).

Graph 7: Reasons for which women have no children or 1-2 children

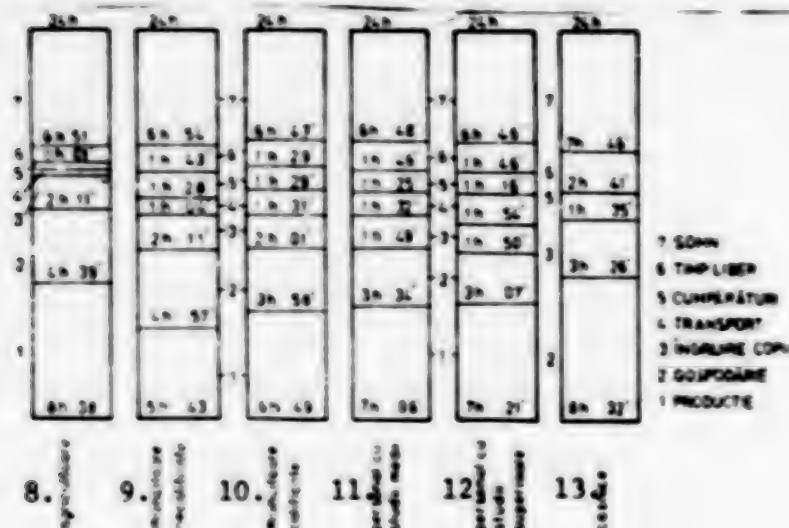


Key:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Young age, recent marriage | 8. Had as many as wanted |
| 2. Sterility, repeated spontaneous abortions | 9. Other reasons |
| 3. Health, fear of birth, Rh negative | 10. Total answers |
| 4. Occupation, commuting, nobody to take care of child | 11. Total women |
| 5. Inappropriate housing | 12. Childless women |
| 6. Unbalanced budget | 13. One-child women |
| 7. Misunderstandings between spouses | 14. Two-child women |

3.11. The budget of time for the women investigated brings out a particularly large number of hours spent for housekeeping activities, shopping, transportation to and from the job and not enough free time for social-cultural, sports activities. (Graph 8).

Graph 8: Budget of time for women investigated by occupations
(without public and education activities)



Key:

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Production | 8. Agriculture workers |
| 2. Housework | 9. Unqualified workers |
| 3. Child care | 10. Qualified workers |
| 4. Transportation | 11. Personnel with secondary studies |
| 5. Shopping | 12. Personnel with higher studies |
| 6. Free time | 13. Housewives |
| 7. Sleep | |

4. The data resulting from the survey of fertility of the female population of Romania show a number of similar conclusions with those recorded in the majority of European countries; they are:

- General fertility and specific fertility by age groups are continually falling;
- Fertility level--more exactly, the number of live births on the average for a family--is lower in the urban environment and counties with lower natality;
- Fertility level also is in inverse correlation to the degree of schooling, being much lower for women who graduate from secondary school or higher education;
- Fertility level is much higher for agriculture workers and housewives, somewhat lower for workers and much lower for personnel working in jobs requiring secondary or higher studies;
- For the reasons mentioned, the result is that possibilities exist to influence women's demographic behavior, with regard to having a large number of children in a family, if complex economic-social, medical measures are taken.

These complex measures are especially necessary and urgent since urbanization and culturalization of the broad masses and women's entry into the work field in an increasing percentage in coming years may continue to bring a fall in fertility indicators similar to what is also occurring in other European countries.

DECREE ON EVALUATION OF DAMAGE TO PUBLIC PROPERTY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 108, 21 Dec 81 pp 1-3

[Decree of the Council of State Regarding Damage Done to Public Property as a Result of Missing or Damaged Goods; a republication of Council of State Decree No 208/1976, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I, No 63 of 5 July 1976; republication done on the basis of Article III of Council of State Decree No 339 of 26 November 1981, No 339 being published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I, No 92 of 27 November 1981; the republication rennumbers the articles of No 208/1976]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

General Provisions

Article 1. - The evaluation of the damage done to public property as a result of missing or damaged goods, for which the responsibility or obligations for restitution are established according to the Labor Code or which are caused by deeds that constitute civil or criminal offenses, is accomplished according to this decree.

The provisions of this decree are not applied in the case of damages where the evaluation is accomplished according to certain special legal provisions.

Article 2. - The evaluation of damages is done by taking into consideration the prices in effect on the date the damages occur. In cases where the date of the damages cannot be determined, the prices in effect on the date the damage was discovered will be taken into consideration.

Chapter I

Evaluation of Damages for Which the Responsibility or Obligations for Restitution are Established According to the Labor Code

A. Missing Goods

Article 3. - For goods that are found to be missing that have legally established retail prices, the evaluation of the damages is done by using these prices as a basis. When different retail prices are established for the one and the same product, the basis for the calculation will be the retail price applicable to the socialist unit

that was damaged. If within an administration different retail prices are charged, the highest price will be used as a basis for calculation.

As an exception to the provisions in the preceding paragraph, for missing goods that are sold through public food stores, the evaluation of the damage will be done on the basis of the price at which these goods were recorded in the store where the shortage was discovered, but no less than the retail price for which they were sold in the food sector.

Article 4. - For those goods that do not have retail prices established in accordance with legal provisions, but have prices established as prices-at-delivery, the evaluation of the damages will be accomplished using these prices as a basis, to which a factor of 1.05 will be applied.

This same factor is also applied to the negative value difference resulting from the replacement, under conditions of the law, of the missing goods with surplus goods, if the missing goods, the surplus goods or one of these does not have retail prices.

In cases where the price-at-delivery is equal to the production price, the factor that is applied according to paragraph one and paragraph two is 1.25; for tableware, knives and forks and packaging used in trade, a factor of 1.05 is applied.

For those goods found to be missing that have only production prices or prices-at-delivery established and that constitute a type of product within a group of products for which retail prices have been established for some, the value to be recovered will be determined by the unit that was damaged by correlating the retail price of the product with one of the closest quality, keeping in mind the value of these goods when in use, as well as the level of taxes on the goods and the commercial rebate included in the price.

The value determined in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph cannot be lower than that resulting from the application of the factors in paragraphs one, two and three.

Article 5. - The provisions of Article 3 and Article 4 are not applied in the case of those goods listed in the Annex of this decree, for which the evaluation of damages will be accomplished by the application of the factors in the annex to the goods found to be missing.

Article 6. - For goods that have neither a retail price nor a price-at-delivery established, the evaluation of the damages will be done for each particular case by the unit that was damaged on the basis of a thorough and documented analysis so that the damages will be covered.

For the situations outlined in the preceding paragraph, in cases where for the purpose of evaluating the damages it is necessary to have expertise, this will be accomplished by persons specializing in this area, with the appropriate legal provisions regarding expertise being applied.

Article 7. - For those goods that are part of unfinished production, the evaluation of damages is done on the basis of all the expenditures made according to the records, with the value of the raw materials and materials being calculated in accordance with the provisions of Article 3 or Article 4 as the case may be.

8. Damage to Goods

Article 8. - In the case of damage to goods, the evaluation of damages is done in the following manner:

- a) if the goods can be repaired or reconditioned in order to be returned to the previous condition, the expenditures made to this end are taken into consideration;
- b) if the damaged goods can be used as such, in accordance with legal provisions, but with reduced prices, the difference between the original price and the price obtained is taken into consideration;
- c) if, as a result of repair or reconditioning work on the product, a product of inferior quality is obtained, the difference in the price between the original price and the price of the repaired or reconditioned product is added to the expenditures listed in letter a);
- d) if the damaged product is used as a raw material for the production of other goods, the difference in the price between the original price of the product and the price of the raw materials that it replaced is taken into consideration;
- e) if the goods cannot be repaired, reconditioned or used, in cases where the goods were produced in the unit that was damaged, the costs are taken into consideration, and in cases where they were purchased, all the expenditures made to procure the goods are taken into consideration.

In applying the provisions of letters b), c) and d), the price established according to the provisions of Articles 3 or 4, as the case may be, is taken into calculations.

Chapter II

Evaluation of Damages Caused by Deeds That Constitute Civil or Criminal Offenses

Article 9. - In cases where the damage was caused by deeds which, according to the law, constitute civil or criminal offenses, the evaluation of the damages will be done by adding to the sum resulting from the application of the provisions in Articles 3 through 8 the sum representing the amount of use lost by the unit that was damaged.

If the resulting sum from the application of the provisions of the preceding paragraph does not cover the cost of these goods, the cost of the goods is taken into consideration, when these goods were produced in the unit that was damaged, while in the case of goods that were procured all the expenditures made to this end are taken into consideration.

Chapter III

Provisional and Final Provisions

Article 10. - In the evaluation of damages, the degree of wear and tear on the goods will also be considered, as established on the basis of legal tests. In cases where the degree of wear and tear cannot be established, the damage is equal to the full value of the goods, based on the results of the application of the provisions of the preceding articles.

Article 11. - The provisions of this decree are also applied in cases of damages done to cooperatist units and other public organizations, regardless of the type of person who committed the act causing the damage.

Article 12. - This decree takes effect 30 days after its publication in BULETINUL OFICIAL. On the same date the following are abrogated:

- Decree No 220/1960 Regarding Establishing the Value of Damage Done to Public Property, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 22 of 20 October 1960;
- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 532/1963 Regarding the Means of Establishing the Value of Damages Done to Public Property, for Goods That do not Have Retail Prices That are Legally Established, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRII No 24 of 26 July 1963;
- Decision of the Council of Ministers No 368/1975 for Completing the Annex Listings in Council of Ministers Decision No 532/1963 Regarding the Means of Establishing the Value of Damages Done to Public Property, for Goods That do not Have Retail Prices That are Legally Established, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 42 of 6 May 1975.

Annex

List of Products Where the Evaluation of Damages is Done According to Article 3 Provisions

Product	Factor	Price Category to Which Factor is Added
Liquified gas bottles	8	Retail price
Wheat	5	Retail price
Corn	5	Retail price
Rye	5	Retail price
Oats	5	Retail price
Fodder Barley	5	Retail price
Barley for beer	5.5	Price-at-delivery

Note: According to Article II of Decree No 339/1981, the provisions of this decree are also applied for damages caused up until its effect date (27 November 1981), if until this date a definitive pronouncement had not been made regarding recovery of damages.

8724

CSO: 2700

WESTERN COMMENT ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 22 Jan 82 p 3

[Article: "Church-State Dialogue in Yugoslavia--Religious Freedom Emphasized"]

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jan--Yugoslavia is apparently making an attempt to correct the negative impression about relations between the state and the church which have been circulating outside the country. There was a clear indication of this in the remarks by Alexander Fira, chairman of the Federal Commission for Relations with Religious Groups, during a press conference last Tuesday morning at Belgrade's international press center. Among other things, Fira stated that during the past year a total of 10 clergymen had been tried by the courts. Three Catholic, three Moslem and two Orthodox clergymen had been convicted of "treason," he said, while the rest were charged with minor infractions. He indicated that the impression given in the foreign press that there had been a general change in the official attitude toward the church in Yugoslavia was a basic misapprehension. Today, as it had from the very beginning, constitutionally guaranteed religious freedom and equality of all citizens has remained an immovable basis for relationships with the religious communities, he said.

"Local" Difficulties

In replying to specific questions he did not deny that there were problems for priests and the faithful in some areas, e.g., religious care in hospitals and religious practices by military personnel. He did however refer to them as "local" difficulties which had to be dealt with at their place of occurrence and denied any responsibility by societal institutions in this context. Responsibility for daily contact with religious communities and their members in the Yugoslav self-government system belongs to the so-called "Socialist Alliance," officially known as "Popular Front," which for practical purposes is an extension of the party. At the press conference which--no doubt intentionally--dealt with this subject at a more general and abstract level, the status of this mass organization in relation to frequently reported discrimination against religious persons, especially in small communities, did not come up for discussion.

Fira claimed that in recent days there had been an officially sanctioned expansion of the public image of the religious communities. Indeed, Belgrade television recently broadcast for the first time interviews with representatives of the Catholic,

Serbian-Orthodox, Macedonian and Moslem religious communities, during which they "could say whatever they wished." It is obvious that on this occasion they said nothing controversial. Additionally, at the press conference there was an announcement of a forthcoming public debate on religion and Marxism, in which representatives of the religions are to participate.

Talks With the Archbishop

No less interesting than the event of the press conference itself is the fact that at the end of last November Fira made a visit to Zagreb's Archbishop Franjo Kuharic. Officially this was described as a return visit; but 5 years had elapsed since the previous encounter. According to a very laconic report by the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG, the talks were "open and frank." Such encounters were described as useful and are to be continued in the future for the purpose of overcoming difficulties which occur "in everyday life", "in the spirit of the Yugoslav constitution, the applicable laws and the protocols jointly signed with the Vatican." Beyond that, Fira refused to provide any other information about the meeting at the press conference. The archbishop appears to be equally discreet, as can be seen from a report about the meeting in Zagreb's Catholic weekly GLAS KONCILA.

Different From Poland

This visit and its explanation indicate that the state has decided to reestablish a dialogue with the church. The fact that this simultaneously imposes an obligation upon the Catholic church in Croatia became evident from Fira's words when he was asked about the possibility of the canonization of Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac, who had been convicted as a war criminal after the war. That, he said, is a matter for the church, and the church knows that such a step would not contribute to a positive development of the relationship. At the end of the press conference Fira was asked whether Yugoslavia feared the influence of "events in Poland" with respect to the church. He denied this with a smile; as the reason, he stated that Yugoslavia is in every respect "entirely different" from Poland.

9273

CSO: 2300/123

DJILAS BOOK ON COMMUNISM PUBLISHED IN FRG

[Editorial Report] The 20 January 1982 issue of DIE WELTWOCHEN (Zurich) publishes (page 11) an excerpt from Milovan Djilas's forthcoming book "Idea and System" to be published in mid February by the Fritz Molden Verlag in Munich. The Zurich paper notes that the book is "a collection of political essays... [in which is it pointed out that] communism as it is practiced today is becoming more and more separated and alienated from the class which it was supposed to represent. ...As a result the working class is turning more and more away from communism. These essays...were written before the dramatic events in Poland which, however, only confirm the statements and analyses in them." The paper reprints from the book one chapter entitled, "The Working Class and Communist Rule."

CSO: 2800/129

BRIEFS

KALANJ-SUVAR POLEMICS--At the 13 January meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee the view of the Presidium of the Croatian LC CC was given regarding the statement by Rade Kalanj and the reply by Stipe Suvar at the 16th meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee. As is known, the Central Committee authorized the Presidium to take a position on this because it is not only a question of confrontation between two personal opinions on ideological deviations, but questions which have started to have also broader dimensions. In this connection the Presidium, in the structure of broad discussion about ideological trends, took the view that a special Central Committee meeting on the situation on the ideological front should be prepared to discuss specific differences in approach and judgment of the ideological situation and tendencies. Both Rade Kalanj and Stipe Suvar were selected, in addition to others, for the working group which will prepare the meeting. In examining especially Kalanj's statements and Suvar's reply, the Presidium stressed that approaches which aim toward moral-political discrediting and ideological-political labeling do not contribute toward clearing up controversial questions and building ideological unity. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jan 82 p 3]

KOSOVO LC MEMBERSHIP--Elections in Kosovo have recently started. Preelection and election activity in basic LC organizations will take place up to mid-January, while election activity in opstina conferences will take place in February and March. The 13th provincial conference of the Kosovo LC is scheduled for April 1982. The LC of Kosovo has entered these elections with 90,808 members organized in 3,124 basic LC organizations. Since the last elections 18,495 new members have joined, or 20.36 percent more. The Kosovo LC has the following percentage of members indicated: 25.8 workers in direct production, 13.25 private farmers, 4.38 engineers and technicians, 2.17 economists and lawyers, 11.96 cultural, educational and scientific workers, 2.06 health workers, 0.59 other specialized workers, 9.64 administrative workers, 2.53 managerial persons, 15.10 students, 2.28 persons in protective services, and 10.15 others. Also, 41.6 percent are below 27 years of age, and only 13.29 percent are women. The nationality structure is as follows (in percentage): 65.63 Albanians, 23.62 Serbs, 6.07 Montenegrins, 2.56 Moslems, 0.86 Turkish, 0.47 Romany, and 0.78 others. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jan 82 p 6]

HOSTILE ACTION IN LIPLJAN OPSTINA--Thus far 21 persons have been penalized in the opstina for hostile action involving Albanian nationalism and irredentism, (criminal charges were brought against 16, while 5 persons are in investigative custody); 13 persons have been charged with writing slogans. Measures have also been taken against verbal action by individuals and against one instance of Serbian nationalist slogan writing. It was said that the town of Lipljan continues to be the center of hostile activity in the opstina. Evidence of hostility has been known ever since 1979. During November 1981 six persons who created unrest and wrote hostile slogans in the past few months were discovered. Slogans were also in evidence during December, mostly in the villages of Rasinovac, Sedlare, Banjica, Cuculjaga, and at the "Goles" magnesite mine and industry in Magura. Social self-protection has not worked in certain areas; this is best proved by the recent fire in the "Goles" mine which exceeded 1.5 billion old dinars in damage and destroyed machinery for which one had waited over 3 years to import from abroad. There are also other negative occurrences in OURs (organizations of associated labor) in this opstina such as carelessness, stubbornness, opportunism and unjustified absences. Firefighting units in all enterprises in this opstina are very poorly equipped and have poor working conditions; this was evident during the recent fire in the "Stanoje Aksic" paper and carton factory. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jan 82 p 3]

CSO: 2800/211

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

Feb 18, 1982